ŠEVO TARIFA

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INTRODUCTION

In November 1976, the Party of Labour of Albania took stock of its 25 years of struggle and victories. It held its 7th Congress full of vitality and dynamism, proud of the successes achieved and with unwavering confidence in further, even greater successes in the future. Life once again vindicated the correctness of its Marxist-Leninist line and its confidence in the course it has followed. The PLA has opened brilliant prospects to the Albanian people for the future.

The road followed by the PLA and the Albanian people has not been and is not strewn with flowers, but has been and is a road full of difficulties and obstacles. Speaking at the 5th session of the 8th Legislature of the People's Assembly, Comrade Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the CC of the PLA, said among other things: «We are advancing against the imperialist-revisionist current. Our current is the revolution and the collapse of the capitalist order, which will be superseded by socialism and communism, classless society. This so-

ciety is the future of mankind, which will be attained and built through class struggles, with bloodshed and sacrifices. But it certainly will be built. Imperialism and social-imperialism are in decay. Socialism will triumph, the world and mankind will escape from these plagues»[1].

While looking forward to the future of Albania and the world revolution with optimism, we must not fail to take account of the threats and dangers resulting from the aggressive policy of imperialism, social-imperialism and opportunists of all hues. As a socialist country, Albania is threatened with various dangers from abroad, such as the imperialist and revisionist ideological aggression, armed attack and the pressure of the grave economic crisis in the world. The Albanian people do not lose sight of any of these dangers even for a single moment, but on the contrary, they assess them correctly and understand very well, that they must always be prepared and properly armed to resist them, in order to cope with them successfully.

This pamphlet, written by the publicist Sevo Tarifa, is about the imperialist and revisionist ideological aggression. Obviously, the reality of this aggression must be recognized not as a matter of «culture», but in order to oppose it in both theory and practice, to make it ineffective against socialist Albania and the entire world revolutionary movement.

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1 Enver Hoxha, Speech at the People's Assembly, «Zëri i popullit», December 28, 1976.

1. SILENT ARTILLERY

Confronting each other today, stand two diametrically opposed ideologies: socialist ideology and bourgeois ideology. They are locked in irreconcilable class struggle. Socialist ideology expresses and defends the interests of the proletariat and is progressive. Bourgeois ideology expresses and defends the interests of capitalism and revisionism and is retrogressive. To maintain their domination over the working masses, to undermine the victory of the proletarian revolution and socialism, the bourgeoisie and the revisionists conduct unceasing ideological aggression.

What do we mean by ideological aggression?

In the broadest sense, this ideological aggression is an allround imperialist and revisionist propaganda pressure which is based on a host of reactionary theories and doctrines, spearheaded against the revolutionary doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, with a view to misleading and brainwashing the people, to corrupting them and making them dege-

nerete morally and politically, and alienating them from the road of the revolution and socialism.

The experience of the Party of Labour of Albania teaches us that the ideological aggression of the imperialist and revisionist world is the most active form of the struggle used today against the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, the broad working masses in the world and the cause of the revolution. In the present international situation, this aggression carries the danger that people will become confused and disorganized, so that they degenerate, through the many means of bourgeois and revisionist propaganda. The waves of this propaganda are beating ceaselessly against the shores of Albania, too, therefore, as Comrade Enver Hoxha says, «... along with serious military and economic preparation against any eventuality, all measures must be taken and all forces mobilized to defeat the ideological aggression of the enemy, too. In this life and death struggle, we must bear in mind that the ideological pressure is unrelenting, that it must be combated and defeated not just once, but every day, every month, every year»[1].

The bourgeois and revisionist ideologists and politicians call their ideological aggression «psychological warfare» or «a war without gunshots and bloodshed», and according to them, it is the last word in perfection of the art of war, in which psychological «technique» operates in place of guns

1 Enver Hoxha, «Reports and Speeches 1972-1973», p. 305 (Alb. ed.).

and bayonets. These ideologists and politicians speak of three weapons against socialism. In their view, «the lever of military force» in politics gives rise to reaction in world public opinion, therefore it cannot be used all the time; the «economic lever» is the least effective, while the idological weapon is the one which can be used successfully.

At present the enemies are fighting with two kinds of weapons: fire arms and the weapon of their reactionary ideas. They use fire arms to violently suppress any revolutionary movement of the proletariat which is trying to escape from oppression and exploitation and to seize power. They use them for military aggression to invade other countries, for armed counter-revolution where the revolution has triumphed and the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established. The enemies also attack with the weapon of their reactionary ideas. The weapon of ideas, the bourgeois degeneration of the socialist superstructure and the ideological aggression of enemies made it possible to achieve those counter-revolutionary results in the Soviet Union and other former socialist countries, which imperialism had been unable to achieve either through its armed intervention or through the fascist agression.

Ideology is a system of political, juridical, aesthetic, ethical, philosophical and other ideas. These ideas may be either a true or a false reflection of reality, may be scientific or unscientific, revolutionary or reactionary. This depends on the level of knowledge of the reality as well as on whose class interests the ideas represent. People's

ideas are not passive. They play either a positive or a negative role. Ideas which truthfully reflect the reality and express the interests of the progressive class play a positive role. Such are the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. Ideas which reflect the reality in a distorted manner and express the interests of reactionary classes play a negative role. Such is the bourgeois and revisionist ideology, which represents retrogression and carries out ideological aggression.

But the enemies try to disguise their ideas. Speaking about the liberals, those ideologists of the bourgeoisie, Lenin said: «The liberals cunningly disguise their views with democratic-sounding phrases»[1]. Life shows that bourgeois ideology is a false ideology. Engels wrote: «The bourgeoisie dares not tell the truth, because in doing so it would condemn itself»[2]. That is why, bourgeois ideology presents a distorted view of reality. Its influences are neither fortuitous nor spontaneous, but are the outcome of an activity organized and guided by the bourgeoisie and revisionism encircling us.

The bourgeoisie needs the weapon of ideas, along with fire arms, because in its fight against the revolution and socialism, it uses two means: violence and degeneration. When it fails to win with the one, it uses the other, according to the

1 V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 18, p. 386 (Alb. ed.).

2 F. Engels, «The Situation of the Working Class in England», p. 37, Tirana, 1970 (Alb. ed.).

formula expressed by Kissinger: «If it is not possible to compel a communist country through military means, this will be achieved by means of peaceful internal evolution».

The «peaceful» internal evolution is the degeneration of a socialist country from within. It is called «peaceful» because the process of degeneration takes place without recourse to fire arms. This is what occurred in the Soviet Union and other former socialist countries where the revisionists came to power. However, while acting to seize the fortress from within, apart from the weapon of ideas to carry out the «peaceful» degeneration, the counter-revolutionary elements also resort to fire arms or threaten to do so. This is precisely what occurred in the Soviet Union. Here is what Polyansky, one of the Soviet revisionist chiefs, relates in proof of this: «... at a regular meeting of the Presidium of the Central Committee, the majority defeated the views and stand of Khrushchev, who did not know what to say to his comrades, who were calling him to account. In face of their facts and arguments he became demoralized and surrendered. The Presidium decided that Khrushchev should be dismissed from his functions as First Secretary of the CC of the CP and head of the Soviet government and appointed as Minister of Agriculture, because he was a 'specialist in maize growing'. However, we were informed from within of what was happening to Khrushchev in the Presidium, therefore some other comrades and I, who were in Moscow, surrounded the Kremlin with tanks and soldiers and issued the order that nobody should be allowed

to leave the Kremlin. On the other hand we dispatched aircraft to all parts of the country to collect the members of the plenum of the CC of the CPSU. Then, we entered the Kremlin and demanded entry to the meeting. Voroshilov came out and asked us what we wanted. When we told him we wanted to enter the meeting, he refused. When we threatened to force our way in, he exclaimed. 'Do you know what you are doing?', but we warned him, 'Hold your tongue, otherwise we shall arrest you'. Thus we got into the meeting and changed the situation»[1]. These words of the putschist are enough to show how the plot for Khrushchev to usurp the leadership was organized.

The degeneration of the socialist social order, the capture of the fortress from within, is the favourite means of the imperialists and the revisionists today. This is achieved by making people's consciousness decay and rot from within, by capturing their minds and hearts. This the bourgeoisie achieves through its ideological aggression. At the 7th Congress of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha said: «Besides their measures of force, the imperialist and revisionist enemies also use the tactic of peaceful degeneration of the socialist order, attaching special importance to their ideological agression, precisely to the counter-revolutionary course which proved so fruitful in the Soviet Union and other former socialist countries»[2].

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1 Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 22, pp, 295-296 (Alb. ed.).

2 Enver Hoxha, «Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA», p. 113 (Alb. ed.).

In its ideological aggression, the bourgeois-revisionist demagogical propaganda aims to influence people who are not tempered ideologically, in order to mislead them. The imperialists and the social-imperialists behave that through such large-scale demagogical propaganda, gradually and undetected, they can arouse dangerous illusions among the ranks of the Marxist-Leninist parties, dampen their revolutionary spirit and then proceed towards their weakening, degeneration and liquidation. This propaganda is developed in two directions: for consumption at home and abroad.

At home, the bourgeois-revisionist ideological pressure is aimed at paralyzing the masses of the people, especially the proletariat, to prevent it from rising in revolution.

To achieve this end, the imperialists and the revisionists employ demagogy to deceive the working masses in order to keep them under their influence. When it is impossible to cope with the revolt of the workers through demagogy, then they use the other methods: the method of force, the bludgeon. This is what is occurring at present in many capitalist and revisionist countries. But it is not only the proletariat of their own countries that imperialism and revisionism are concerned about. They are trying to put down any progressive and revolutionary movement all over the world. Therefore, ideological aggression is employed for external consumption, too. In this direction, ideological aggression is aimed at benumbing people's minds, at poisoning their consciousness in order to restore capitalism wherever socialism has triumphed, to hinder the

peoples' national liberation struggles against colonialism and neo-colonialism, to put a spoke in the wheel of the world revolution in general. The enemies have concentrated these aims of ideological aggression on Albania. They are striving at all costs and in every way to smash the resistance and struggle of our people to defend the freedom, independence and sovereignty of the Homeland and socialism. In the first place, they want to smash the Marxist-Leninist stand of the PLA, which is the decisive factor in all the victories of the people.

To achieve their counter-revolutionary aims in other countries, the imperialists and the social-imperialists build two kinds of bridges: legal bridges and illegal bridges.

The legal bridges are those that link the imperialists and the social-imperialists with other countries through diplomatic, trade, cultural and other relations. The illegal bridges are those that link the imperialists and the revisionists with other countries through visible and invisible, spiritual, ideological and practical threads, ranging from the penetration of bourgeois ideology to the espionage network. Thus, Washington places special importance on ideological corruption in the countries which are fighting for economic and political independence, such as in Latin America, Africa and Asia. The United States regards Latin America as «its own special backyard». In the revisionist countries of Eastern Europe, too, the ideological penetration of Soviet social-imperialism is great.

It is known that the «theory» of «bridges», was

strongly advocated by John Foster Dulles, the former US secretary of state. To achieve the aims of the US imperialists to penetrate as deeply as possible into the former socialist countries, among other things, he also operated via «bridges» of cultural, artistic, tourist and other agreements. By means of these «bridges», US imperialism penetrated into a number of countries, in order to spread it own ideology and policy, to extend its reactionary practical activity to the detriment of the peoples.

The legal and illegal bridges are closely linked with each other. They are used by the imperialists and the revisionists for their own purposes, which they try to achieve first, through liberal attitudes towards alien manifestations and then, through coexistence with them.

The imperialist-revisionist ideological aggression against Albania is waged in two ways: open assault and camouflaged assault.

The open assault of the imperialists and the revisionists on Albania hits directly with calumnies and concoctions intended to split the Party, to weaken its unity with the people, to divert it from the road for the construction of socialist society, to discredit it in the eyes of world public opinion. The attacks which the Soviet revisionists resorted to at their 22nd Congress, the various epithets which the enemies attack to the PLA and its internal policy by calling it «Stalinist», «iron curtain», «conservative», «destroyer of religion and ancient traditions» and so on, are open attacks. Since these epithets were exposed, rumours that «Albania has begun to open its borders, Albania is becoming

liberal, Albania is turning its gaze towards the West», and so on have been heard. The revisionists adopted the language of the propaganda with which world capitalism had been attacking scientific socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat for years on end, and went even further in their slanders.

The enemies' camouflaged assault on Albania is that which goes on under cover, when they throw the stone and hide their hand, when they swear their friendship while stabbing us in the back. This kind of attack is the more dangerous for it is hidden under revolutionary phrases — the wolf in sheep's clothing. As a saying of the Albanian people has it, «The known enemy we can handle, but we must be especially on guard against the hidden enemy».

The imperialists and the revisionists have always wanted to liquidate socialist Albania and they still do. It is the target of enemies because of its indomitable revolutionary stand. The enemies have the rifle trained on it, but it has heavy artillery trained on them.

Historical experience shows that in their activity against socialist countries, both the internal enemies and the external enemies have the seizure of political power and the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat as their main aim. To achieve the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat and its replacement with a bourgeois dictatorship, the imperialist and revisionist enemies conduct their propaganda intended to prepare public opinion for this. This preparation is not just a

matter of decisions taken in secret conclaves, but entails large-scale practical activity in which reactionary ideas are combined with counter-revolutionary actions and are put into practice. Let us recall, for example, the time of the counter-revolution in Hungary, in 1956, where many enemies were operating in the «Petoef» club. This club became the centre where the counter-revolutionary slogans about the «democratization» and «liberalization» of the state power of the working class, were concocted. But these slogans did not remain there. They were elaborated and disseminated to educate counter-revolutionaries. In this way, they passed from ideas to practice.

Or let us recall the counter-revolutionary ideological preparation which the enemies Fadil Paçrami and Todi Lubonja tried to carry out in Albania. They sought to spread the bourgeois-revisionist ideology, culture and way of life in the fields of ideology and culture, in order to prepare the soil suitable to political counter-revolution.

One of the distinguishing features of ideological aggression is the fact that it is the forerunner of military aggression. Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us that «... the ideological pressure and struggle the enemy is using against us is the preliminary preparation and forerunner of a possible military attack»[1]. What does this mean?

This means that ideological aggression moulds

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1 Enver Hoxha, «Reports and Speeches, 1972-1973», p. 304 (Alb. ed.).

public opinion, carries out the psychological preparation, trying to capture the minds of the people of the other countries prior to a possible attack by imperialism and social-imperialism. This is how aggressors have always operated. This is how the German nazis acted prior to their military attacks on the European countries, and how Italian fascism acted before it launched its military attack on Albania on April 7, 1939.

The two superpowers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, are engaged in wide-ranging activity, not only to prepare their own aggressive armies psychologically and ideologically, but also to gradually poison the minds of the peoples and armies of the other countries. Their line in this direction is «words and ideas are as important as bread and guns» and «psycological warfare, the fight for the minds of men are the methods of today and the future».

Through their ideological aggression, the external enemies are preparing the terrain, working to poison the minds of men and, at the same time, they are making their calculations and preparations for military aggression. The more people's minds are poisoned by the ideological aggression, the less resistance their military aggression will meet. Conversely, the less the poison of the ideological aggression, the greater the resistance any possible military aggression will encounter. Indeed, it will fail against revolutionary people on whom the ideological aggression, the forerunner of the military aggression, has not been able to operate.

Hence ideological aggression is a «silent artil-

lery» which is followed by the noisy artillery, namely, military aggression. It is like the field of battle where, before the infantry attacks, an artillery barrage is used to clear the ground to make the infantry advance possible. Similarly, before military aggression is launched, the ideological aggression comes into action, and likewise prepares the terrain, stupefies the minds of men, causes ideological confusion, and creates suitable conditions for an eventual military attack. This does not mean that military aggression waits its turn. No, the enemies tactic is to carry out their ideological preparation, first in order to have it easier when they clash with the adversary, but military aggression also acts directly. Ideological aggression is no less dangerous than military aggression — they are both lethal. The damage it inflicts is just barbaric as the damage of war with fire arms, though this damage occurs gradually and is not always perceptible. Let us take the question: how do fire arms kill and how do ideological weapons «kill»?

In military aggression, the shooting takes place with rifle-fire at short range and artillery or missiles at long range, while in ideological aggression, the «shooting» makes no noise, «the rifle» or «the gun» is triggered off ideologically, «psychological technique» is used, for example, what is not really beautiful is made beautiful. Bourgeois ideology causes degeneration of the tastes of the youth making the ugly look attractive. Hence ideological aggression has a sophisticated and specific character.

In war with fire arms, either the enemy kills you or you kill him. He who gets killed is, of course,

wiped out physically, while in ideological warfare, the enemy can «wound» you and you, yourself, not be aware of it, or perhaps someone may be «killed» or fall «victim» to the ideology of the enemy. This is so because on the field of battle with fire arms, you are under the barrage of the enemy's shells, while in ideological warfare, you are under the hail of «sugar-coated» bullets which carry their poison within. You are, for example, under the impact of the koleidoscope of bourgeois advertising, which deceives you and to some, makes hell look like paradise, you catch the gleam of false luxury, which fosters illusions about the bourgeois world.

In military aggression, the clash takes place physically, face to face, bayonet to bayonet, whereas in ideological aggression, our clash with the class enemy takes place ideologically, through the weapon of ideas. A war of opposing ideas of a class character is waged. This struggle of ideas is waged within the ranks of the people, too, to combat the «sickness» in order to save the «patient».

Enemies can be shot, but not their reactionary ideas. The enemies can be jailed, but their reactionary ideas cannot be locked up. They exist and will continue to exist as long as there are classes, until communism. But the ideas of the enemies are combated, rooted out, although this can not be done easily or quickly. They spread and inflict «wounds». These «wounds» are alien manifestations of bourgeois ideology. If a liberal stand is adopted towards them, they spread more freely. If an indifferent stand is taken towards them, then they will find

ways to establish themselves. That is why, a US ideologist writes that «the USA must create suitable conditions for the positive evolution of the communist political system and exert pressure in favour of liberalism.»

Today we are no longer in the time of the old classical military aggression when the enemy operated less ideologically and gave priority to his attack with fire arms. In our time, besides military aggression with modern weapons, the imperialist and revisionist enemies are making more extensive use of another favourite weapon: the ideological weapon. This means that it is not just when he occupies a country militarily that the external enemy shows his hand. He may be thousands of kilometres away and still, someone may fall victim, degenerate, as a result of ideological aggression.

Since ideological aggression, this «silent artillery», is a preliminary preparation and forerunner of military aggression, the two are not separated by any wall. Ideological aggression and military aggression are closely linked with each other. The former leads to the latter. The enemies never separate their ideological weapons from their fire arms. Their pressure on the peoples is unrelenting. Likewise the task laid down by Comrade Enver Hoxha that «We communists and all the working people need to be armed with two kinds of weapons: fire arms and the ideas of Marxism-Leninism»[1] is a permanent one.

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1 Enver Hoxha, «Reports and Speeches, 1970-1971», p. 102 (Alb. ed.).

2. THE DEFEAT OF ENEMIES

Albania has always been coveted by the foreign enemies not only because of its geographical position as a bridgehead in the Balkans, but also because of the riches of its land and underground resources. Today, the imperialists, the revisionists and all the other reactionaries aim to liquidate socialist Albania, also because it is a great beacon lighting the way to other peoples. What does history tell us?

History tells us that the Albanian people have always heroically resisted enemies who have wanted to subjugate them. The external enemies have always sworn to turn the land of Albania into a desert, where nothing would grow. Instead, they have left their bones here. The national flag has gone through flames and storms, and been riddled with bullets, but it has always advanced waving proudly and high.

Not only military aggression, but also ideological aggression has always been a danger threatening Albania. This aggression has been conducted at different proportions and in various ways in the

past, too. It is still going on today in more complex and sophisticated forms. We can distinguish four phases in the process of development of the ideological aggression against our socialist country.

The first phase commences with the liberation of the country from the fascist occupiers up till 1948, when the treachery of the Yugoslav leadership is discovered and exposed. In this phase, the ideological aggression of the enemy against Albania has its own characteristics. What are some of them?

One of the characteristics of the ideological aggression in this initial stage was the propaganda campaign by the enemy to topple the people's state power which had just been born out of the barrel of the gun. At that time the external and internal enemies were saying: «The days of this state are numbered», «it will not be recognized by the great powers», «they do not know how to govern», «this state is supported on crutches», and who knows what else!

Such propaganda was carried out through many different methods ranging from leaflets dropped from aircraft by external enemies and foreign radio broadcasts, to the slogans of the internal enemies and reactionary religious propaganda. The essence of all forms of the enemy propaganda was to create a false opinion about the character of the new state power in Albania and to prepare the ground for its overthrow. In those difficult moments for our country, the Party taught that «the work of the

enemy must be taken seriously and this calls for vigilance, constant revolutionary vigilance».

But the enemies were not content with propaganda alone. They went over from the realm of ideas to concrete counter-revolutionary actions. Another characteristic of their ideological aggression is the organization of acts of subversion and sabotage. This has always been one of the ferocious forms of struggle used by the class enemies against the peoples and the revolution, and is one of the features of the ideological aggression which is going on to this day.

The aim of the subversion and sabotage after Liberation was to create an atmosphere of insecurity and fear among the masses of the people, to weaken and undermine the people's regime. Such subversive activity started from the «Group of Deputies»[1] which worked to sabotage the elections to the Constituent Assembly, of December 2, 1945, down to the armed bands of saboteurs and assassins. It involved acts of sabotage in the economic sectors as well as terrorist murders of communist militants. This hostile activity was organized by the British and US imperialists. There are many documents to prove this, but let us mention just one of them. The British General Hodgson said

1 This group of traitors, led by Shefqet Beja, was sided and abetted by the US and British imperialists and was working to topple the people's state power through violence. The traitors were discovered, put on trial and received the punishment they deserved.

at a meeting with the group of spies and saboteurs headed by Riza Alizoti: «We shall give you moral and material assistance such as with money, munitions, and so on, whenever you need it; therefore, continue to organize yourselves better and better and carry out as much sabotage as you can...»[1]. However, the Albanian people, under the leadership of the PLA, constantly sharpened their revolutionary vigilance and waged a stern and merciless struggle against the internal enemies and their foreign imperialist supporters.

This political and economic subversion was combined with armed attacks from within and without to overthrow the people's state power through violence. In 1946, 4,505 war criminals were discovered, captured and wiped out. They were old agents of the enemy espionage networks, officials of the quisling governments who had collaborated with the fascist and nazi occupiers, exponents of the organizations of traitors. In this period, the fight against the armed bands which at that time comprised 3,538 members, was very fierce. The attempts of reaction to organize an armed uprising at Koplik on January 21 and 22, 1945, the plot of the traitor deputies and the armed revolt of reaction in Postriba, Shkodra, on the 9th of September 1946, and so on, were defeated. This activity was directed by the US and British imperialists. The head of the American Mission, General Jacobson, had issued the following instruction: «An insurrection must be prepa-

1 The archives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, File R.A., p. 38.

red in Albania in order to provide an excuse for direct intervention by the Anglo-American army, on the pretext of the troubled situation in Albania.»[1]

The Anglo-American imperialists also made other attempts at military intervention from outside such as the attempt at armed intervention in January 1945 under the pretext of extending their military mission in Tirana and later their attempt to bring 1,500 to 1,700 officers and technicians of the «Military Liasion» into Albania allegedly to deal with the distribution of «aid» and so on. These demands were resolutely rejected by the PLA and the Albanian Government.

In this period, the main objective of the Yugoslav revisionists against Albania was the seizure of the citadel from within, by bringing Koçi Xoxe[2] and company to the top, in order to turn Albania into their seventh Republic. They also tried to station several divisions of the Yugoslav army in Al-

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1 The archives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Investigation file of KK and the US, p. 150.

2 Former organizational secretary of the CC of the CPA and Minister of Internal Affairs. He placed himself in the service of the Yugoslav revisionists, applying criminal methods in the CPA and the new Albanian state. He tried to carry out Tito's plan of annexing Albania to Yugoslav Federation. The 11th Plenum of the CC of the CPA uncovered his activity and the 1st Congress of the CPA (November 1948) condemned him as a traitor to the country and a renegade from Marxism-Leninism. Then he was arraigned before the people's court and sentenced to death.

bania on the basis of allegations about the danger threatening Albania from an imminent attack by Greece. But the bomb went off in their own hands. Tito's treachery and his agents in Albania were discovered, exposed and condemned.

The second period runs from December 1948 to 1955. In this period, the ideological aggression against our country is distinguished by the following main features:

The propaganda of external enemies against Albania was conducted from all quarters. The geographical encirclement of the country became complete, because the Yugoslav revisionists acted not only in disguise as before, but openly, too. Anglo-American imperialism was trying to divide the roles among the enemies around our borders. Under the direction of the USA and Britain, a campaign of slanders was launched against the PRA, calling it an «aggressor» and «warmonger». The reactionary foreign Radio and press issued calls to the Albanian people to rise against the Party and the Government. At those difficult moments, the PLA pointed out that through propaganda, the enemy is seeking to popularize the imperialists and overestimate their strength and underestimate the strength of the Albanian people, as well as to arouse panic and lack of confidence in our forces.

Along with the hostile, anti-Albanian propaganda in that period, there was also the aspect of the organization of Albanian criminals who had fled the country so that the US-British imperialists could

use them against Albania. Inside Albania, there was no longer any opposition political group more or less organized and capable of leading a counter-revolutionary movement. Because of this, new subversive organizations were set up outside Albania. The number of the fugitives sent into Albania as assassins and saboteurs increased, but they were caught like rats in a trap. The truth in Albania was not what the fugitives had been told, that, «the government in Tirana was about to topple», «terror, suffering and misery reign in Albania». The US and Italian agent, Ethem Çako, declared, «This distrust was further reinforced among us when more agents sent in by the foreign enemies, were wiped out on the border of Albania, and especially when one of them, who had a hair's breadth escape, arrived at the camp. He told us, «the situation in Albania has changed. Nobody helps you. We were starving... the people hate us...»[1] During that period, 358 armed bands of enemy agents were wiped out, with 2,000 killed, captured or surrendered»[2].

Espionage activity against Albania increased especially. The foreign intelligence services set up 93 espionage centres outside Albania and acted with coordinated plans. This was the time when the fire of all enemies was concentrated on Albania, and all the shots were fired from one place: the US department of state. «A game of snakes» was being

1 The archives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Investigation File 8974, KZH, p. 178.

2 The journal «Në shërbim të popullit» (In the Service of the People), September 11, 1976, p. 26.

played around Albania. The Yugoslav Legation in Tirana was a centre of economic subversion and sabotage, a nest of espionage.

The ideological aggression and the entire subversive activity against Albania in that period was combined with military provocations carried out uninterruptedly by air, sea and land. In the period 1948-1953, 2,210 provocations were carried out against our country, including 1,023 provocations from the land, 1,143 from the air and 44 from the sea[1]. At that time Comrade Enver Hoxha stated: «The Tito clique is continually carrying out acts of armed provocation on our borders while pouring out venom from its Radio and press...»[2].

The third period covers the years 1956 to 1961. Some of the distinctive features of the ideological aggression in this period are:

The enemies give priority to ideological aggression against Albania. This aggression now becomes complete: imperialist-revisionist ideological aggression. The poisoned arrows are aimed by the imperialists, headed by the Americans, modern revisionists, headed by the Soviet revisionists, and international reaction. The edge of the ideological aggression now becomes even sharper. The struggle with the enemies becomes more bitter, more widespread, and more acute. This struggle assumes a

1 The archives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, File 4 and 3, Inv. 1, pp. 2-175 and pp. 70-150.

2 Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 6, p. 288 (Alb. ed.).

more profound ideological character. The Khrushchevite revisionists exerted ideological pressure on the PLA with the aim of making it change its Marxist-Leninist course and succumb to the revisionist course of the 20th Congress of the CPSU. They did their utmost in the direction of rapprochement with the Tito clique and its rehabilitation. On this issue, too, the PLA did not waver in the face of the Khrushchevite pressures. At that time Comrade Enver Hoxha taught: «The Titoite group has long been a group of Trotskyites and renegades. In the view of the Party of Labour of Albania it has been such at least since 1942...»[1].

The Soviet revisionists dished up the thesis of the dying out of the class struggle under socialism.

The unshakeable thesis of the PLA was still: «It is wrong to think that the class struggle is dying out and that the overthrown classes will give up the fight voluntarily».

The ideological struggle in that period was waged also over a series of other issues of a principled character, such as: the question of Stalin, the Hungarian counter-revolution, peaceful coexistence, war and peace, the roads to socialism, and so on, towards which the PLA maintained a clear-cut principled stand. The views and acts of the modern revisionists brought grist to the mill of imperialism.

The PLA and the Albanian people responded

1 Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 19, p. 432 (Alb. ed.).

to the ideological attacks of the enemies with counter-attacks. But the tactic of the struggle in that period had a special feature: the ideological struggle of the PLA against imperialism and Yugoslav revisionism was open, while that against the Soviet revisionists was still internal, though irreconcilable. Later this struggle developed from a bilateral struggle into a struggle within the ranks of the international communist movement. This occurred at the Bucharest Meeting and the Moscow Meeting in 1960, to which our Party went not with a score of flags, but with only one, the unsullied flag of Marxism-Leninism, and firmly denounced the counter-revolutionary activities of the Khrushchevite revisionists. After the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, from the tribune of which Albania was attacked, the struggle between the PLA and the Soviet revisionists became open and public.

At this period, all the external enemies hurled themselves upon socialist Albania; they set up 11 powerful radio stations and wrote in many press organs. They wanted to cause ideological confusion in the ranks of the Albanian people and to prepare a terrain suitable for their reactionary activity. Their propaganda was totally unrestrained. It was aimed at sowing the seed of hatred for the sound leadership of our Party in order to replace it with another leadership that would suit the imperialists and the revisionists. This became evident on the eve of the 3rd Congress of the Party, at the Tirana Conference in April 1956, where the enemies tried to achieve their aims through the «peaceful» road, but they failed. The imperialist-revisionist conspi-

racy was discovered and liquidated. One of the enemies of the Party and the people, a participant in the conspiracy, told his partners: «Now is the time to bring in other men and overturn the situation... in Albania...»[1].

Characteristic of that period was the collection of degenerate elements and organization of them in espionage groups by the foreign espionage networks which tried to get a hold on people «in high posts» in order to seize «the fortress from within».

This was done as a combined operation: hostile propaganda and agitation to distort the reality, sabotage of the continuation of the collectivization, attempts by enemies to capture key positions, coordination between internal and external enemies, organization of plots, preparation of an armed uprising to liquidate socialist Albania. There are many documents testifying to these aims and actions which the enemies admitted with their own mouths. Let us cite some of them:

A Yugoslav espionage cadre wrote to a spy in his service in Albania: «Work as hard as you can in order to bring down the regime in Albania and for Albania to unite with Yugoslavia... Write us about how the people respond to the agricultural cooperatives, work and don't worry, because these cooperatives will soon be liquidated just as in

1 The archives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Doc. A/A 15.

Yugoslavia, therefore be patient a little longer and don't join the agricultural cooperatives»[1].

One of the agents of the Teme Sejko conspiracy[2] declared: «In the first place, we were to attack and seize Radio Tirana, the Albanian Telegraphic Agency and the Post Office and then open the prison»[3].

A colonel of the US espionage service stated: «The main objective of our work in Albania is to organize a general armed uprising to overthrow the political system in power»[4].

It is common knowledge that all these and other hostile attempts against our country have been foiled. At the 4th Congress of the PLA, Comrade Mehmet Shehu said: «... our ship did not founder as the enemies hoped. It rode, is riding and will ride the cruel waves of the tempest of the age

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1 The archives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Doc. 73, File 3221, p. 254.

2 A counter-revolutionary conspiracy prepared by a secret anti-state organization. The conspiracy was led by old-line agents of foreign espionage services. Their counter-revolutionary plan was combined with armed intervention from abroad. As was proved later, the Soviet revisionist leadership knew about the plot which it reckoned to use for its own ends.

3 The archives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, File SM, p. 155.

4 The archives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, File KF, p. 365.

with legendary stead-fastness, because it has Marxism-Leninism as its compass, its crew are the people of Scanderbeg[1], Naim[2] and Migjeni[3], Bajram Curri[4] and Qemal Stafa[5], its helmsman is the heroic Party of Labour, the Party of demonstrations and barricades, of sweat and blood, of fire and toil, our Party of the people which does not recognize defeat but only victory, and has as its tested captain our Central Committee with the glorious founder and leader of our Party, Comrade Enver Hoxha, at the head[6]».

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1 Gjergj Kastriot (Scanderbeg): National Hero. In the 15th century, he led the Albanian people who fought for the freedom and independence of the Homeland, and triumphed for 25 years, at the same time becoming the defender of Western Europe from the onslaught of the Ottoman hordes.

2 Naim Frashëri: Hero of the People, renowned poet and outstanding patriot of the Albanian National Renaissance (1847-1900).

3 Millosh Gjergj Nikolla (Migjeni): An Abanian revolutionary poet of the 30's of the 20th century.

4 Hero of the People, outstanding Albanian patriot and fighter, killed in the struggle against the reactionary forces of the former feudal king, Zog,

5 Hero of the People, member of the CC of the Communist Party of Albania from its founding, political secretary of the CC of the Albanian Communist Youth, killed while fighting heroically against the Italian invaders and local reaction, on May 5, 1942.

6 Mehmet Shehu, Report at the 4th Congress of the PLA, p. 94, Tirana, 1961 (Alb. ed.).

The fourth period begins from 1961 onward. This is the period of open imperialist and revisionist ideological aggression. The mask was torn off Khrushchev during this period. The bottom fell out of his demagogy, water began to pour into the Soviet revisionists' boat faster than they could bail it out. Nevertheless, the imperialist-revisionist ideological aggression still continues. United States-led imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and all the revisionists of every hue, are carrying on in every way and with all the means they have.

The present-day imperialist and revisionist ideological aggression is ferocious. It still has the character of subversion, but now it is subversion transformed into ideological aggression.

The continuation of the subversive character of the ideological aggression is of great importance today. In the framework of the ideological aggression, this subversive activity and subversion in general, are being extended, intensified and even further perfected. And Albania is the target. During the past five years, the total of the subversive centres and bases of the capitalist and revisionist countries, operating against our country, increased 93 per cent, while the number of cadres working in them grew 70 per cent. Therefore, as the PLA teaches us, persevering struggle against the pressure of the enemies in all directions will bring about the defeat of their military and ideological aggression. The designs of the enemies of Albania have been defeated and will always be defeated. They will also fail in the face of the strength of the progres-

sive people who not only will not submit to them but will fight boldly for freedom and independence, for their revolutionary rights, against imperialism, social-imperialism, all the revisionist trends and reaction in the world.

3. THE ESSENCE OF THE AGGRESSION

What is the essence of the ideological aggression?

The essence of the imperialist and revisionist ideological aggression against socialism and the freedom and independence of the peoples is the instigation of liberalism in all fields and all directions. It is true that this aggression operates in the ideological field, but at the same time, it does not leave the other fields of the superstructure and the base unaffected. Let us refer to some of the principal fields:

Liberalism, which constitutes the essence of the ideological aggression, operates in the political field today just as in the past. Its aim in this field is to liberalize the dictatorship of the proletariat, to disrupt discipline, to corrupt people morally and politically and make them degenerate, to infect their activity with bureaucracy, to make the masses of the people dissatisfied, to weaken and then to liquidate the dictatorship of the proletariat there

where socialism has triumphed, as in Albania, and also to diminish the spirit of class struggle, to weaken the resistance of the working class and the other working masses under its leadership, to corrupt and stupify them, in the capitalist and revisionist countries. The «peaceful» counter-revolution is the precursor of the political counter-revolution and the liquidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, renunciation of the revolutionary struggle and revolutionary road.

In order to achieve this aim, through its ideological aggression and extensive propaganda, the bourgeoisie is trying to convince the people of the alleged superiority of the capitalist way of life, as the way of life of a «free» society with a «high level», where everyone is allegedly equal and there are no rich and poor! The bourgeoisie accompanies this with some practical measures. The so-called «consumer society» in the capitalist countries makes credits available to the workers so that they can buy washing machines, TV sets, and so on. In this they have two main aims: on the one hand, to quell the class struggle in order to give the impression that the capitalist and the worker have allegedly merged in a new class, «the class of consumers» and, on the other hand, to show that in the bourgeois countries, there is allegedly equality and democracy, because the workers have the same things as the capitalist. However, on the basis of the hire-purchase contracts, if the consumer fails to pay his instalments on time, by decision of the court, he is deprived of the commodity he has bought on credit and the instalments he has

paid are not returned. On the other hand, if repayment is not made during the lifetime of the debtor, the debt still has to be paid even after his death, and his children will suffer. Here exploitation is combined with deception. And although, as Engels says, «the bourgeoisie has achieved great successes in the art of concealing the poverty of the working class»[1], it is quite unable to conceal the true situation, the poverty of this class.

The bourgeoisie counter-opposes this «broad democracy» and «high level of wellbeing» that allegedly exists in the capitalist countries, to socialist society, where freedoms are allegedly curtailed and a strong dictatorship exists! It is true that the dictatorship of the proletariat is strong, steel-like and will grow even stronger in the future, but as always it will suppress only its enemies and evil-doers. This dictatorship will be strengthened by fighting against the two main dangers threatening it from within: liberalism and bureaucracy. The Party has always pointed out that this is not a temporary campaign. On the contrary, the struggle against bureaucracy and liberalism will be protracted, because these two manifestations of bourgeois ideology are deep-rooted, linked with economic, social and ideological factors and encouraged by the internal and external enemies.

In the present-day conditions, in order to cause the socialist order, the domestic and foreign policy

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1 F. Engels, «The Situation of the Working Class in England». Tirana, 1970, p. XVI (Alb. ed.).

of the Party and the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Albania to degenerate, the class enemy's main concern is to promote liberalism on the whole of our internal front, to weaken it, because the internal forces are decisive for the construction of socialism.

The enemy attacks with its ideological aggression where you do not expect it, wherever it can inflict the greatest damage. It is true that the bourgeois-revisionist ideology conducts a continuous bondagement «all along the front and in all fields, but it should not be forgotten that this «bombardment» is also concentrated, with this or that sector as the main target. For example, the ideological aggression in Albania attacked the sector of art and literature which is an important ideological front; at the same time it also directed its shafts at the youth organization in order to spread the bourgeois-revisionist way of life, tastes, and norms alien to communist morality; then, the enemy operated in the army, in the oil industry and the planning sector, in foreign trade, education, and so on.

Aiming at the degeneration of the socialist order, the ideological aggression does not neglect the preparation of coups d'etat and military putsches, either. In socialist society the coup d'etat, as an extremely counter-revolutionary act, brings a reactionary clique to power and restores capitalism. All the aims of the imperialists and the revisionists of every hue to turn Albania away from the road of socialism have been defeated thanks to the steel-like unity, political awareness and maturity,

ideological clarity and revolutionary determination of the Party, and the loyalty of the people to it.

Anti-communism is the pivot of the ideological aggression. With its hostile propaganda by slandering socialism, the international bourgeois is seeking to alievate the peoples from the road of the revolution, which is the road to their victory. In June 1974, Kissinger stated that «we cannot remain indifferent and allow another country to turn communist». Another US ideologist has said that «we must settle accounts with communism through peaceful means in coordination with the forces of liberalism which may eventually attract the country which is under communist rule». But in a country where socialism is being built successfully, the enemies find it difficult to come out openly flaunting the banner of anti-communism. Their favourite weapon to overthrow socialism is pseudo-Marxism, the revisionist counter-revolution.

Liberalism operates in the ideological and cultural fields, too. The tragedy that occurred in the Soviet Union and other former socialist countries where revisionist cliques are in power, shows that liberalism in spiritual life became the key that opened the doors to the penetration of bourgeois ideology, to the inflow of the degenerate Western culture and way of life.

The danger of the penetration of bourgeois and revisionist ideology must not be taken lightly. Bourgeois and revisionist ideology tries to influence people through a number of counter-revolutionary

theories and currents. These currents stem from pure bourgeois ideology, which has an openly anti-communist character, down to the old traditional opportunism, ranging from modern revisionism to the present-day so-called «left» opportunist currents. There are many of these «theories», which are an expression of ideological aggression, but let us mention two of them:

One of them is the «theory of anti-ideology», the aim of which is to negate the Marxist ideology by proclaiming its «end». According to this «theory», «the Marxist ideology», «the socialist ideal» are finished. They give pride of place to technical-scientific thinking, which ideology allegedly hinders. This means that the proletariat has no need of the Marxist-Leninist ideology, Marxism is allegedly utopian, archaic and obsolete. The PLA and the reality of Albania refute such reactionary «theories». It is laid down in the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania that in our state, Marxism-Leninism is the dominant ideology. This «... bars the way to the spread... of alien ideologies and all theories of the modern revisionists about 'ideological pluralism', 'the free circulation' of reactionary ideas and cultures, which are weapons of political counter-revolution and ideological aggression...»[1]

The other is «the theory of convergence», the aim of which is to «prove» that socialism and capi-

1 Enver Hoxha, Speech in the People's Assembly, «Zëri i popullit», December 28, 1976.

talism are allegedly moving towards «rapprochement», «union», «fusion». According to this theory, between socialism and capitalism there are more features of similarity than of difference and, in the final analysis, socialism and capitalism proceed together on the same road. It is understood that according to the «theory of convergence», the economic base of society to be created from this «fusion» would be private ownership, and its political base, bourgeois democracy.

These two «theories» constitute the two sides of the same coin. The «theory of anti-ideology» tries mainly to provide «theoretical arguments» to prove «the aging of Marxism», while the «theory of convergence» seeks to «prove scientifically» the practical possibility and necessity of the non socialist road of the development of human society.

There are also other hostile currents the basis of which is their common counter-revolutionary aim. Irrespective of from what position they attack Marxism-Leninism, the revolution and socialism, irrespective of what slogans and «arguments» they use against them the representatives of all these currents are united in one main aim: to show that «capitalism has overcome its contradictions», that «bourgeois society has become better», that «capitalism and socialism are now moving towards a single society», that «there is no longer room for class struggle, proletarian revolution», and so on. But life refuges both the «theories» and the «arguments» of the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists. There is only one theory that is scientific and invincible: the Marxist-Leninist theory.

By means of liberalism, ideological aggression encourages the spread of alien «theories» and manifestations. Any liberal stand towards these alien «theories» and manifestations is fraught with dangerous consequences for socialism. The manifestations of bourgeois and revisionist ideology show up especially when and where a revolutionary stand is not taken towards them. On the other hand by making alien manifestations the target of attacks, the struggle against liberal and indifferent attitudes towards them serves the ever increasing revolutionization of our life and work.

The 4th Plenum of the CC of the PLA, held in June 1973, severely criticized some harmful manifestations of liberalism in art and culture and laid down important tasks for the further revolutionization of this important ideological sector. In the present-day conditions, when the US imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists, proceeding from their aims of world domination, of the spiritual and political enslavement of the peoples, are disseminating the ideas of cosmopolitanism, the so-called internationalization of art and culture, the struggle to defend the people's national cultures is of great importance. By defending the national, democratic and revolutionary culture, we defend our independence and traditions, safeguard the popular spirit, block the way to the penetration of bourgeois and revisionist ideology and culture, and contribute to the treasury of world culture. Socialist culture develops and forges ahead, not by shutting itself up in its national shell, but by drawing upon what is progressive in world culture.

The range of operation of the ideological aggression also includes the economic field. The imperialists and the revisionists do not content themselves with the savage economic blockade they have imposed on Albania, with their discrimination against us in trade, with their efforts to hinder the development of production, to sabotage the construction of socialism and disrupt the economic and political independence of our country. In the economic field, they have also let loose unrestrained propaganda against us. In connection with this, at the 7th Congress of the PLA, Comrade Mehmet Shehu said: «The revisionist and bourgeois foreign press, especially the Soviet revisionist press, propagates far and wide that the People's Republic of Albania has allegedly fallen on evil days, that the rates of increase of social production and the standard of living in Albania are falling and not rising, that this is allegedly to be blamed on the policy followed by the Albanian leadership which has closed the doors to 'aid and credits' from the revisionist and capitalist countries! In a word, they are pitying the rider because his legs hang down!»[1].

Through their agencies, the imperialists and the revisionists also seek to collect «economic data», with the aim of carrying out economic sabotage: to cause a fire in a plant, to sabotage a sector, to weaken the economic potential of the socialist state, to hinder the fulfilment of the plans and tasks.

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1 Mehmet Shehu, Report submitted to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 8 (Alb. ed.).

Stalin's words: «We should never forget that, as long as capitalist encirclement exists, there will be saboteurs, spies, terrorists... sent in by the intelligence services of foreign states»[1], are still completely true.

As the 7th Congress of the PLA proved, the traitor group of Abdyl Këllezi, Koço Theodhosi, Kiço Ngjela and their ilk, carried out extensive hostile activity in the economic field. This group attempted to distort the line of the Party on the development of the economy and the principles of its organization and management and to apply revisionist forms and methods of self-administration, and so on. They seriously sabotaged such key sectors as planning, the oil sector, foreign trade, and so on. Their aim was to undermine the basis of our socialist order, to pave the way for the economic and political subjugation and enslavement of our country by the foreigners.

The imperialists and the revisionists are not content with economic sabotage, they also aim at economic expansion, and the ideological aggression which works to brainwash the people so that they allow imperialism and revisionism a free hand to operate in the economic area, too, in order to enslave the peoples, comes to their aid.

This is most evident in certain countries where economic expansion is developing with typically neo-colonialist methods, open pressures and threats. At present, more than 3,400 big US monopolies

1 J. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 14, p. 108 (Alb. ed.).

have invested their capital in 23,000 enterprises of the so-called developing countries. To achieve their imperialist ambitions for domination and exploitation of the Comecon countries, the Soviet social-imperialists have dictated to these countries the so-called complex program of development, specialization and cooperation of production and the international division of labour, in order to bind them hand and foot and increase their absolute dependence on Soviet supplies of raw materials. The Soviet Union supplies the Comecon countries with 47 to 87 per cent of their respective requirements for iron ore, supplies almost all their oil, 70 per cent of their timber, and so on. And, as everyone knows, the Moscow imperialists do not give away one cent. On the contrary, they resort to every means to gain the maximum profits from the sweat and blood of the peoples of Eastern Europe. Let us mention that by manipulating the prices of oil in 1975, the Soviet revisionist bourgeoisie made a profit of 735 million dollars. That same year, Bulgaria was obliged to pay 170 million dollars more than before. Other countries, such as Hungary, Czechoslovakia, etc., have experienced similar deficits.

The ideological aggression is intended to make inroads in the military field, too. In this important sector, its waves are sent with a definite aim, to weaken the defence potential of socialist Albania, too.

To attain this aim, the imperialist-revisionist

ideological aggression nurtures two main hostile influences: liberalism and bureaucracy, which are dangerous everywhere, but especially in the field of defence. In this direction, the ideological aggression is aimed at removing its main obstacle — the leading role of the Party in the problems of defence in general, and in the army in particular.

But these aims of the ideological aggression which comes from abroad cannot be attained without internal support. It found this support in the group of Beqir Balluku, Petrit Dume and Hito Çako, who employed refined hostile methods. This group operated to weaken the Party organization and its leading role in the army, to sabotage the military line of the Party and to counterpose to it their own capitulationist and treacherous theses, tried to smuggle revisionist literature into the army in order to use it nurture for a series of liberal, bureaucratic and technocratic manifestations. The penetration of this literature into the army, however slight, was an open manifestation of the ideological aggression which led to the elaboration of a series of views and practices alien to the people's army.

The condemnation of this putschist group and the struggle to eradicate alien manifestations in the ranks of the army barred the way to the plans of the class enemies to weaken the defence capacity of socialist Albania. Today the Albanian soldier people are stronger than ever. Nevertheless, as in every other field, in the field of defence the pressure of the ideological aggression is still operating.

Therefore, the struggle against the enemies in this field must be unceasing and concrete.

The strategic objective of the imperialist and revisionist ideological aggression is the liquidation of socialism, while their tactics to achieve this objective vary. Let us mention three of them:

One tactic is to spread the wind of pacifism, to the effect that no danger is threatening us, therefore, we can set our minds at rest! The aim of this tactic is to blunt our revolutionary vigilance so that the enemies can take us by surprise.

The wind of pacifism is conciliation with the class enemy. To preach ideological conciliation with imperialism, alleging that it has become «people's capitalism», is no longer aggressive or so dangerous, means to damage the revolution, to deceive the peoples, and this assists the progress of military and ideological aggression.

To justify their rapprochment and ideological reconciliation with imperialism, the revisionists have tried and are trying to concoct a «theoretical basis» for it, by singing the praises of «peaceful coexistence», «the relaxation of tension», «detente», «talks», «meetings», and so on. But the best reply is provided by life, the peoples, the world proletariat, that is resolutely waging the class struggle on the barricades of the revolution. The peoples cannot be deceived for long with the wind of pacifism. The powerful wind of the revolution is blowing. There can be no detente between the peoples and their enemies. Between them there is only the smell of gunpowder.

When the modern revisionists fan up the «pa-

cifist wind», boast «detente», reconciliation and rapprochement with imperialism, they are aiming mainly at Albania, in order to persuade us that no danger whatever exists today. Why do they do this? Because the existence of a genuine socialist state, of a true Marxist-Leninist party in power, is a continuous cause for concern both for imperialism and for revisionism. For their own reasons, neither wants to see the banner of Marxism-Leninism continue to fly in Albania and socialism continue its ceaseless advance in the land of the eagles, because this is not in their interests.

The other tactic is that of the display of strength by imperialism and revisionism. By using this tactic, the enemies aim to intimidate the peoples, to weaken their confidence in their own forces. But the facts have shown that the «invincibility» of imperialism is a myth. This has been proved more than once on the battlefield, in the flames of war. Let us recall Vietnam and Cambodia, where imperialism and its tools suffered their most recent defeats. Likewise, the «invincibility» and «omnipotence» of Soviet social-imperialism have no real basis either. Revolutionaries are not intimidated by the pressures and threats of imperialism and social-imperialism. On the contrary, the imperialists and the revisionists fear the revolutionaries, and that is why, openly or on the quiet, they are preparing their attack. But the stone that the reactionaries pick up to hurl at the revolutionaries will, as always, rebound on their own heads.

The third tactic is that of the «new language»

which the imperialist-revisionist enemies use towards the peoples and the revolutionaries. The essence of this tactic lies in the fact that, from time to time, the enemies give up their harsh tone and want to communicate with the peoples, using a «mild», or even a «friendly» tone, according to the slogan «gently but persistently», which means that abusive language should not be used, but the struggle against the revolution and socialism must always continue. The bourgeois and revisionist ideologists say: «We must try to attack gently and always right on the target».

The tactic of the struggle with a «new language» is a new form of the imperialist and revisionist ideological pressure, but one which does not alter their hostile aim against socialist Albania. Our people say: «The wolf may change its coat, but never its habits».

Marxism-Leninism teaches us and historical experience proves that one of the features of the imperialist and revisionist ideological aggression is the coordination of the activity of the internal and external counter-revolutionary forces. Many facts show that the foreign enemies have always relied on the internal enemies, whereas the latter have pinned their hopes on the external enemies. And they have both acted and are acting for the one purpose: to smash the dictatorship of the proletariat to its very foundations and restore capitalism. To achieve this aim, the external and local enemies are in alliance. This alliance may or may not be organized through

secret contacts, but it and the coordination between them exist and grow stronger the more careless we become and the more we lack revolutionary vigilance. This alliance between the external and local enemies is based on their common aim: the elimination of the Marxist-Leninist party and the dictatorship of the proletariat, the restoration of capitalism.

The imperialist and revisionist ideological aggression finds support within the country among the remnants of enemy classes and among elements from our ranks that degenerate and become bourgeois, counter-revolutionary and anti-socialist, as a result of the pressure of the bourgeoisie and revisionism. All the internal enemies of every shade place themselves in the service of external enemies. The links between them are not imaginary, but real, they are organic links as well as ideological and spiritual links.

When the local enemy is recruited as an agent of foreign intelligence services, of the foreign enemies, compromises himself with them, puts himself at their disposal and serves them to achieve their counter-revolutionary aims, these are organic links. These agents establish organized contacts with the external enemies, give them political, economic and military information of a secret character, which is processed by the foreign intelligence services and used for their hostile aims against the country.

The bourgeois-revisionist statements to the effect tha everything is recognized and known in the world today, hence there is no need to safeguard secrets, «let us open the doors», «speak high and low» are linked with precisely such counter-revolu-

tionary aims. On his visit to the United States, Khrushchev himself declared, «it is futile to spend funds on espionage, but both you and we should tell each other everything» (!?). Nonetheless, the external enemies are unsparing with their dollars or roubles for espionage activities provided they can find traitors to the people and the Homeland and engage them in their service: through agitation and propaganda up to graver crimes against the socialist state.

When the local enemy, although not recruited as a spy of foreign intelligence service, disseminates the imperialist-revisionist ideology, propagates it zealously, is an ideological agent, an «ideological saboteur», a «political scoundrel», preaches the bourgeois way of life and works for the moral and political degeneration of the people, these are ideological links. Among other things, such enemies speak in the name of the new, disguise themselves behind revolutionary slogans, pose as progressive, civilized, cultured people, while others who do not follow in their wake are «ignorant», «conservative», and so on. This is the mode of operation of those who want to open the way to liberalism, moral and political corruption and degeneration.

Dividing the links of the internal enemies with the external enemies into organic and ideological, does not mean that there is difference between these enemies. Absolutely not. «All the enemies of our Party and people», Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, «deviators of every hue, with or without contacts with the external imperialist and revisionist enenmies, are nothing but running dogs of the

bourgeoisie. They are all rightists, although they may adopt some leftist disguise»[1].

There are many facts which show that when the internal enemies, whether linked organically or ideologically and spiritually with the external enemies, have been uncovered and exposed, or even before, they have been taken under protection by the imperialists and the revisionists, who have attempted to organize their flight from justice. This is what the Yugoslav revisionists wanted to do, for example, with their chief agent in Albania, the traitor to the people and the Party, Koçi Xoxe. At that time, five radiograms over Tito's signature were sent to the Yugoslav representative in Tirana, with the aim that Koçi Xoxe should flee to Yugoslavia, prior to the 1st Congress of the CPA. The last radiogram read: «You must contact Koçi Xoxe and arrange for him to flee to Yugoslavia. Pay up to 100 thousand leks to whoever ensures his escape»[2].

The aims of the external and local enemies have been and still are to liquidate the leadership of the people and the socialist order — the Party of Labour of Albania. This is the first and most important fortress for them, for if the Party were overthrown, everything would be over, their suc-

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1 Enver Hoxha, «Reports and Speeches 1972-1973», p. 393 (Alb. ed.).

2 The archives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. File Gj. 141 NS, p. 114.

cess would be complete and the capitalist regime would be established in Albania.

It is no accident that all the internal and external enemies have always spearheaded their struggle against the Party and its leading role first of all. Therefore, as Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, «We must safeguard, preserve and defend the Party lovingly, painstakingly and vigilantly for that is where the shafts of the enemies are aimed...»[1] With the Marxist-Leninist Party at the head, Albania is and will always be a red fortress.

1 Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 22, p. 19 (Alb. ed.).

4. POISON-BEARING CHANNELS

The ideological aggression operates through a series of means which the imperialists and the revisionists have available for their hostile propaganda. The poison of ideological aggression spreads all over the world. «... we cannot live isolated from the outside world, the effects of which, through various means of information and propaganda, have assumed a mass character and have been perfected as never before, as well as through contacts that cannot be avoided, penetrate into our country and among our people through many channels»[1].

What are some of these channels?

Let us start with the bourgeois press, which lauds to the sky the «flowers» of capitalism, the

1 Enver Hoxha, «Reports and Speeches 1972-1973» p. 304 (Alb. ed.).

«capitalist paradise». The bourgeois newspapers, printed in large numbers, spread the poison of deception everywhere. As press reports show, the US Information Agency, for example, has set up branches in 111 countries of the world and publishes 66 magazines in 28 foreign languages; it also publishes a large number of newspapers in 28 languages and, 1,600 kinds of brochures per year. Likewise, according to press reports, the Pentagon publishes 125 various political magazines, newspapers and books, running to millions of copies annually. This agency employs more than 12 thousand people, of whom 8,500 are dispersed in 215 information centres in various countries of the world. These figures are, of course, minimized by US imperialism, but they indicate what priority it gives its press propaganda against communism.

The bourgeois press is the monopoly of a handful of capitalists. Along with its use as a lucrative capitalist big business, it fulfils its main function, that of confusing people, spreading opium to benumb their minds in the service of the bourgeoisie. «Freedom of the press» in capitalist society means freedom for the rich who exploit the labouring masses. In the USA, the «Scrips-Howard» monopoly alone, has control of the 23 biggest newspapers. The Hearst firm owns 18 big newspapers and a number of magazines. Another group of capitalists heads a «press empire», the capital of which is estimated at 100 million dollars, and so on. It is publicly admitted in Britain now that «You cannot set up a publishing enterprise or put out a newspaper if you are not a multimillionaire». In the

Federal German Republic, almost the entire press of the country is published and controlled by the Shpringer concern alone.

The big imperialist powers control the press not only in their own countries but in other countries, too. For example, in Brazil, which represents almost half the area and half the population of Latin America, US imperialism controls a series of newspapers, magazines, and so on. Soviet social-imperialism has complete control of the organs of the press and propaganda of the satellite countries of Eastern Europe. Bulgaria is a typical country where the ideological and cultural influence of Soviet social-imperialism is great. The penetration of Soviet revisionist ideology and culture is steadily increasing there. A record was achieved in Bulgaria in 1977 in the distribution of Soviet revisionist publications. The Soviet revisionists publish almost 4,000 book titles totalling 90 million copies in Bulgaria, which also occupies one of the first places in the world as to the distribution of the Soviet revisionist press.

The aim of the imperialists and the revisionists is to ensure that their materials are not only published, but are also utilized inside and outside their own countries. To this end, they do their utmost not only by distributing their publications wherever they can, but also by sending out representatives or by trying to ensure zealous readers and propagandists of their press, which expresses and defends the interests of capitalists and revisionists. In the United States, there are more than 700 organizations which pose as not linked with the government

and are charged with special functions for Africa alone, for the psychological and ideological brain-washing of the African peoples. In the Soviet Union, 73 thousand titles of books of foreign literature, totalling more than 2 billion copies, are published. The example of the metropolis is followed by its vassals. Thus, of the 256 books of artistic literature published in Poland in 1973, only 25 per cent of them were by local authors, while the remainder were by foreign authors from the capitalist countries, mainly American, British, French, West-German, as well as from other revisionists countries. About 828 books by American authors have been published in Poland within a few days.

A powerful means of ideological aggression is Televison, the foreign programs of which operate continuously to poison people's minds. Bourgeois television is profoundly counter-revolutionary.

The TV programs of the capitalist and revisionist countries centre on violence, crime, pornography, and so on. The Latin-American sociologist, Armando Iturbs, counted the incidents of violence in the programs of Venezuelean Television during one week. In one week, of the four TV channels, three broadcast programs which contained 46 murders, 153 cases of wounding, 16 rapes, 187 beatings and 46 acts of vagabondage. This is especially harmful to the education of children, who fall victim to the corrupting bourgeois propaganda. On the TV screen they see that the main hero is a criminal, a murderer or a thief. The children watch with

fear the actions of ghosts, sorcerers and witches allegedly possessed of superhuman powers. As a result, they are divorced from the real world, from daily life, and are engulfed in a world of horror, which keeps them constantly in a state of anxiety, expecting events like those they have seen on TV. The time the children and teenagers spend watching television is not short. From a study made in the USA in 1973, it turns out that in that country, the pupils of the secondary schools attend 12,000 hours of lessons, while they sit watching TV programs for 15,000 hours. Every day, more than 40 million American children up to 11 years of age watch TV programs for an average of three and a half hours. On the average they see 8 cases of the use of brute force every hour, with 22 such incidents per hour in cartoons.

Through its programs, bourgeois television tries to instil in the children the hankering after money, profit and the capitalist way of life. The sense of imitation si pronunced among children. Seeing bourgeois TV programs in which violence predominates, the children copy them and act the same way. A West-German newspaper writes: «In many cases children who watch such aggressive acts copy the model they have been able to see». In the Federal German Republic, there are more than 3,000 suicides a year among children and teenagers. But the foreign TV programs are also a channel to poison the adults, among them there are those who are influenced by them. This is admitted by people in the bourgeois countries who have seen for themselves, and have been stunned by the

negative influence of the TV programs in their own countries. Thus, asked «what is the influence of Television on American society», a citizen of that country replies: «I think it is here where we must look for the cause of the hysteria in which many Americans are living. The TV programs suppress our ability to make judgements, the ability to run our lives. Television is fully capable of stimulating the basest insticts, especially among sick people. No doubt, Television does little to stimulate inventiveness in committing acts of violence, but what terrifies me most is the extensive and immediate publicity given by Television to various crimes which later may be repeated by others in any country».

This spirit permeates Italian Television, too. This Television aims how to capture the minds and hearts of the youth. Through Television the Italian bourgeoisie operates in many ways to bring about the degeneration of the youth, in order to win it over and manipulate it as it likes. Italian Television offers the youth an empty life, devoid of any ideal or aim, «an easy life», a sham world, full of illusions, where man lives for pleasure done, where body is not tired and mind is not exercised.

But this life which appears only on the TV screens does not exist in reality. The picture of life which the television of that country presents is false, manipulated and distorted. An Italian bourgeois magazine is obliged to admit this when it writes among other things: The genuine reality is not what one sees on the TV screen. The reality

which Italian Television does not present is the poverty which has cast its shadow everywhere in the slums right in the centre of Rome». The same magazine writes that Italian Radio-Television treats the people as «a public of idiots, by dishing up to them a lot of songs, a lot of sport and a lot giddy shows, and unscrupulously misinforming the broad public with evasive news... But the artistic performances? They are empty and tendentious performances. Bad performance full of idiotic things». One Italian televiewer has said, «for many years now I have been calling Italian Television, not television, but teleconfusion, for it does not educate, but miseducates the people.»

Another aim of Italian Television is to turn public opinion in favour of the bourgeoisie. To achieve this, Italian Television tries to instil among the masses illusions about the «justice» of the political and state institutions, and moral standards of this society. Its aim is to make the masses of the people obedient and submissive to the exploiting capitalist order, to alienate them from the revolutionary road. That is why, imperialism, US imperialism first of all, is doing its utmost to spread the spirit of its television everywhere. In connection with this, a British bourgeois newspaper writes: «In fact, television has become a window to the West for the East-European countries». Thus, in the revisionist Soviet Union, there are three times as many Western foreign programs as local

TV programs. Two to three hours of American TV programs on the average are broadcast in Poland, and so on.

Radio is another means of propaganda through which the bourgeois-revisionist ideological aggression operates. Today, this important propaganda means operates and carries out greater, more intense and more specifically prepared propaganda. All the bourgeois and revisionist states use the radio to confuse the listeners. For example the «Voice of America» conducts intensive reactionary propaganda, broadcasts many programs for home consumption and many others in foreign languages for countries abroad. Through its 42 transmitters set up in various countries, as the press reports, it broadcasts 824 hours of programs 38 languages and prepares poisonous propaganda materials for 500 foreign Radio-TV stations. Radio Moscow does not lag behind in this direction. Its propaganda is likewise reactionary, however much it is disguised with Marxist phrases. Its materials are full of slanders and attacks against Albania. The Vatican Radio carries on fascist propaganda. It broadcasts daily in foreign languages. They often combine their propaganda «bombardment» against socialist Albania. Other radio stations, which attack us in chorus, also do the same thing.

But the calumnies and demagogy of the foreign radio stations against Albania have been exposed. Let us take the «BBC», the infamous Radio London, which blared out its Albanian language broadcasts

for a quarter of a century on end. How many times has it spread the slander that the people's state power, the dictatorship of the proletariat in Albania has been overthrown, but, on the contrary, the people's state power has grown stronger. Socialist Albania has become a rose blooming in a Europe rotten with crisis and degeneration, but pregnant with revolution. The «BBC» broadcasts huffed and puffed against Albania, but eventually the bubble burst. The imperialist bosses were compelled to close down the broadcasts because the Albanian people paid no attention to them. Lying Radio London failed. And this is the fate in store for all the other Albanian broadcasts of foreign radio stations, which vent their spleen against soicalist Albania.

The cinema is one of the most powerful means of ideological aggression. The bourgeois and revisionist films are destructive for the people of their countries. The main theme of bourgeois films today is degeneration, violence and terror. The films shown on the cinema screens of the capitalist and revisioninst countries encourage the worst vices, such as murder, hooliganism, degeneration, fatalism, and so on. Such films poison people's minds, especially those of the youth.

Even the capitalist press cannot conceal the damage inflicted by bourgeois films on the consciousness of the people. Asked «how dangerous are American films», a writer of that country replied: «Essentially, it is the same as asking: what is the

effect of pornography? Does it stimulate the basest instincts? There is only one answer: Yes. . .».

The imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists aim to ensure that their films are screened in as many countries as possible. In Poland, for example, 120 Werstern films were shown in 1972, whereas in 1974, this number increased to 130. Similarly, more than 60 «new» Soviet revisionist films are screened in Bulgarian Television. Under an agreement, Soviet cinematography has the right to poke its nose into every new film produced in Bulgaria, as well as into the preparation of the scripts and the Bulgarian film import market. According to the Bulgarian press, more than 70 per cent of films of that country have been made jointly with Soviet film studios. Even those Bulgarian films which are not made with Soviet cooperation are filled with eulogies of the Soviet social-imperialists.

Quite the reverse occurs in Albania which imports a limited number of foreign films. Though selected, it is difficult to find films suitable for the education of the working people of socialist Albania. Nonetheless, when some foreign film is screened, care is required to take from it what is positive and not to swallow those aspects which do not comply at all with the revolutionary spirit and ideology. There is no room for decadent Western films on the screens of Albania, they are alien to its socialist ideology.

In Albania, what are screened are local feature films which have a high ideo-artistic content, are simple and comprehensible, realistic and educational,

with a national seal, and clear, humane ideas, and a profoundly revolutionary spirit. These qualities of the Albanian films are more and more strongly attracting our audiences, young and old, who fill the cinemas or watch TV programs at home. It is a legitimate pride we feel when we see that the Albanian films are becoming more and more appreciated abroad, too. In Athens, for example, the public demanded the repetition of Albanian Film Week. There have been similar requests in other countries of the world, too.

Closely linked with these means of propaganda is another: bourgeois advertising. This advertising is the «soul» of that television, which embellishes the bourgeois reality and deceives the viewers in the interests of capital. Italian Television, for example, broadcasts daily programs of commercial advertisment, in which the white waves come foaming up the beach where beautiful girls stroll in the sunshine from the almost cloudless sky; in which the world is all love and life just a paradise, where women have nothing to do but choose their toiletry, while only happiness awaits the elderly. The danger of such advertisment is that it is intended to nurture illusions and deceive the inexperienced. By means of such advertising, all kinds of goods of the «consumer society», which cannot consume them because the purchasing power of the working people is constantly declining, are lauded to the sky. Advertising is becoming so all-pervading that it is not restricted simply to the presentation of the com-

modities but, as the Italian bourgeois press itself writes, «it instils a certain ideology» in the Italians. Naturally this ideology is bourgeois.

Bourgeois advertising operates not only on the TV and cinema screens. In the capitalist and revisionist countries it is ubiquitous. It has two aims: bourgeois education and profit for the capitalists. With its many colours, bourgeois advertising makes the unwary more susceptible to reactionary ideas. And this is in the interests of the bourgeoisie and revisionism, therefore, they use advertising as a means of poisoning people's minds. On this issue, too, they proceed from the jesuit principle of «if you throw enough mud some of it will stick,» that is why the advertising media never cease slandering, for something will certainly stick.

One of the important channels for the degeneration of the people through the imperialist-revisionist ideological aggression, is fashion, which the enemies try to utilize to penetrate ideologically into the inner world, of the youth especially. Why does the bourgeoisie use fashion as a channel for the penetration of its poisonous ideology into the human consciousness?

Fashion is one of the aspects of people's way of life, which has to do with outward appearance. As such, it extends to everybody, because everybody thinks about how he should dress, wear his hair etc., and acts on this. But the thing is how the people understand their outward appearance, in what way will they dress? This depends on the

formation of their inner world. Thus, fashion is really the outward appearance of man, but it has to do with his concepts, the way he thinks, with his inner world and personality. It has to do with the question of how the man of today and the future will be: will he be a man of all-round development, with revolutionary ideals, who will fight consciously for the victory of socialism and communism, or will he be a man with one-sided development, with a poor, counter-revolutionary spiritual world, who will fight to defend the interests of the bourgeoisie, to perpetuate the rotten capitalist and revisionist order. To achieve this aim, the capitalists and the revisionists pour out huge amounts of capital and employ a series of forms and means, one of which is fashion.

According to the bourgeois ideologists, fashion has no connection with the world outlook of the individual and the philosophical and social views prevailing in a given country or period. This view is profoundly wrong. Not only is fashion not separated from world outlook and socio-philosophical views, but it also has an active function, in support of certain socio-philosophical views. Bourgeois and revisionist fashion is intended to undermine the socialist stand, behaviour and convictions of the people. The shafts of the bourgeoisie have been aimed precisely in this direction in order to conquer people's minds and hearts, to work upon them from the ideo-political and moral angle.

The political aim of the bourgeoisie and the revisionists is to confuse people, to distract their attention from the formation of a rich revolutionary

spiritual world, from the class struggle and the revolution in order to corrupt them and make them degenerate. And bourgeois fashion is one of the most appropriate ways of fulfilling this aim. The imperialists and the revisionists try to operate in theory and practice, to this end.

Theoretically, they try to persuade us that in order to be «ultramodern», «contemporary», «with it», people can present themselves «anyway they please», outside general social rules and norms, from collective «families» to big nudist rallies and various kinds of caves, where worthless layabouts imitate primitive life, and other such phenomena which have nothing in common with the revolutionary outlook and are very dangerous to the cause of the revolution and socialism.

Practically, this propaganda about outward appearance is associated with definite acts, behaviour and relations among the people, between young men and women, according to the standards of bourgeois morality, which stress, not sincere relations, but the physiological and sexual aspect. To this end, the bourgeoisie is in search of and uses any forms, even of dress, which lead to the moral and political degeneration of people, especially the youth. Therefore, to fail to fight against fashion and the whole extravagant way of life means to fail to combat the penetration of the degenerating influence of the ideology of the bourgeoisie and the revisionists.

In the field of fashion, the revisionists are zealous learners from the imperialists, their partners. They shout: «Let's live in euphoria, in pleasure,

let the youth enjoy themselves, they love the new, the modern! Who are these conservatives who hinder us from doing whatever we like. We want freedom! We want democracy! We want to sleep with women in the streets and parks, we boys want to leave our hair long like women, to hang crosses round any necks, to go to church, want pornographic clubs be opened for us, to have a private car, and eventually, even an aircraft at our disposal.[1] It is a fact that no sooner has some new extravagance emerged somewhere in the West, than it is taken up in the streets of Budapest, Warsaw, Moscow and so on. In the Soviet Union today, corruption and degeneration have spread to such an extent that for a pair of imported blue jeans, you have to pay 200 roubles, wrote the revisionist newspaper «Komsomolskaya Pravda» on September 8, 1977. That is three times the average monthly pay of a worker. It is clear that such «fashionable luxuries» can be bought only by the members of the privileged, exploiting, bourgeois class.

Fashion expresses the morality, politics and ideology of a given order of society. Its basis is the dominant ideology of the ruling class. The dominant ideology also inspires the fashion of a country. In Albania, the dominant ideology is Marxism-Leninism. Thus, as regards fashion, too, we proceed from the revolutionary ideology of Marxism-Leninism, which is the ideology of the

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1 Enver Hoxha, «Reports and Speeches 1972-1973», pp. 273-274 (Alb. ed.).

PLA. We are for that fashion which expresses precisely this ideology. The way of life in Albania is socialist. The people in our country hate the bourgeois way of life, the decadent fashion of capitalism and revisionism, the aim of which is to bring about the degeneration of sound tastes.

But the bourgeoisie exerts continuous pressure to spread its tastes everywhere. The influences of its ideology are evident in the field of fashion, too. The PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha teach us that we must fight against alien manifestations in this field, too. We do not wage this struggle either from conservative or from liberal positions.

Conservatism is displayed whenever the progressive new in the direction of fashion, too, is not embraced as it should be. Fashion develops, but its development in the revolutionary man does not run counter to sound aesthetic tastes. In saying that we are against alien fashion, this does not mean that fashion in Albania must not advance. What we mean is to combat that banal, extravagant fashion which is sometimes imitated blindly, without vigilant examination of what is hidden behind it. This does not mean that we should not support that fashion which is a result of a natural evolution. We support any natural evolution of tastes in the conditions of the development of socialism, in the spirit, and according to the ideology of the PLA, and we are against any conservative stand opposed to this process.

Liberalism encourage that fashion which is alien to socialist morality and ideology and cultivates bourgeois tastes and forms that degrade the personal

dignity of man, and lead to his moral and political degeneration. The liberal calls anyone who blindly imitates and adopts alien fashion a «man of our time», a «modern», «cultured», «advanced man», and describes anyone who is not influenced by degenerate alien fashion, as «conservative», «uncultured», «ignorant», «inexperienced», because he wants to open the way to liberalism so that people will be corrupted and degenerate.

These are some of the reasons why in Albania, we are waging the struggle on both flanks: against liberalism and against conservatism in the field of fashion, too. Within this framework, the struggle is waged against two extremist stands: Let us take the question of some young men who wear their hair long, «woolly-necks» as people call them. In connection with this, Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us: «In no way will we allow extremist stands towards the youth. Will we allow the youth to wear long hair in such an ugly manner? No, but neither will we permit the use of force to cut their hair...»[1]. This means sound esthetic tastes in regard to fashion, as in all other directions, are inculcated by education. Persuasion is the main method in this field, too.

Another channel to poison people's minds through ideological aggression is bourgeois and revisionist literature and arts. Imperialism and revisionism dish up to people that art which best

1 Enver Hoxha, «Reports and Speeches 1970-1971», p. 290 (Alb. ed.).

serves them their purposes, so that people will leave the social, economic and political problems alone and become totally immersed in amusing themselves.

The main characteristics of bourgeois literature and arts are its trends to the base and bestial, lust, violence, selfishness, etc., which the bourgeoisie incites in order to develop them more and more. This is very evident in the countries where the revisionists are ruling, too, in which bourgeois literature and arts have become a part of life. Wherever you go in those countries, you are deafened by decadent music, the heavy rhythm of the electronic jazz instruments, the transistor radios and tape recorders of drunken youth, while striptease is in vogue.

The danger of the penetration of the music, painting and other genres of bourgeois exists in Albania too, if vigilance is weakened and class struggle toned down. Behind the «beautiful» melodies, «interesting scenes», «artistic» photographs, and so on, there is always a political problem, the ideology of the class which has produced it, a definite morality. Bourgeois art leads to the degeneration of the tastes of man. In this field, too, there is no room for blind imitation, but for viewing things with a political eye, with ideological vigilance proceeding from the standpoint of the interests of the working class. Our communist tastes are imbued with the revolutionary ideal, proletarian modesty, lofty noble sentiments and pure moral virutes.

Bourgeois ideology also penetrates through another channel: pornography. Pornography is one of the open manifestations of the imperialist and revisionist ideological aggression. That is why, the bourgeoisie seeks to spread pornography as widely as possible. The facts show that pornography is very widespread in the capitalist and revisionist countries: in the pages of the magazines and newspapers to the nude photographs displayed in various shop windows and stands as well as in pocket albums, in the pages of books and advertisment for glass-fibre stockings, in paintings and postcards. The bourgeoisie has filled the cinema screens with naked women in order to excite the youth, in particular, and encourage their degeneration.

By spreading pornography, imperialism and revisionism, on the one hand, impel the people towards moral and political corruption, and on the other hand promote their commercial aims. For example, in the United States of America, 30 million pornographic books per year are published. A handful of capitalists make 200 million dollars profit per year just from the pornographic magazines they publish.

The poison of bourgeois ideology also infiltrates through the parcels and dollars that some people receive from abroad. Some of them are sent by good people who emigrated long ago and want to send some small gifts to their families, but packages are also sent by hostile elements, whose aim is to arouse illusions about the way of life

in the capitalist countries. It is even worse when someone writes asking for some «gift» to be sent from abroad, thus paying obeisance to the products of foreign countries. It has never been the custom of the Albanian people to grovel to foreign products. They have always looked with pride on the commodities of their own country. Another form used by the bourgeoisie to cause degeneration is the inflow of tourists. The external enemies try to use this kind of degeneration in Albania, too, to propagate it among our people through tourists. There are those among them who pose as friends but have poison on the tips of their tongues. The facts show that some of them have attempted to carry out hostile activity, agitation and propaganda through all sorts of slogans and methods, but have quickly been rebuffed and put in their place. Then pressures and attacks have been made alleging that «tourist visits to Albania are not permitted», and so on. At the 7th Congress of the Party, Comrade Enver Hoxha said once again: «We do not and never will allow fascists, spies and agents, people who want to smuggle in bourgeois and revisionist degeneration, to enter Albania. But we are happy to welcome honest and correct people, who wish Albania and her people well, friends of our country, even though their beliefs may be different from ours»[1].

Religious propaganda is another poison carrying channel. The imperialist and revisionist ideology

1 Enver Hoxha, Report submitted to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 198 (Alb. ed.).

operates through religion, too, especially in the former socialist countries, where the conscience of men is constantly being eroded. In the revisionist Soviet Union today, there are more than 20,000 churches, mosques, etc., where, in one way or the other sometimes as «Christian love», and at other times as «the desire for peace», the ideology and policy of the revisionist class for class conciliation are preached. In Hungary, there are 19 different religious beliefs, 7,700 churches and other religious institutions, staffed by more than 6 thousand priests. The situation is similar in other revisionist countries, too. Let us take Poland for example. Some time ago, a French magazine wrote: «Poland has its body in the East, its head in the West and its heart in the Vatican»! In that country, there is a religious academy and university. The latter alone is attended by 23,000 students and is housed in a new building equal to 150 to 200 flats. There are more than 18 thousand robed priests. The churches publish 61 magazines and more than six thousand book titles annually. Of the 10 official holidays, 7 are religious.

Today religion uses refined methods to poison people's consciousness. The international bourgeoisie tries to exploit it for its own purposes, in the first place to mislead and confuse the youth. Present-day bourgeois propaganda prattles about the «new religions of the youth». The slogan is: the youth need nothing other than religion».

Under the guise of «new religions», leaflets against communism are distributed, appeals are

made to set yourself apart from society, not to stay within the framework of one's family, to plunge into religious mysticism, class reconciliation is preached, fascist ideas are spread, and so on. Religious lessons are taught in special schools. «After such lessons», one youth admits, «I had my head full of phantastic and unreal things, my arms seemed weak and rubbery and I was not capable of thinking about anything».

Albania is the first country in the world without religious institutions, but this does not mean that the vestiges of religion have disappeared from the minds of all our people. We must eradicate the religious, idealist remnants by exposing their reactionary character, using the infallible weapon of dialectical materialism for this purpose. On the other hand, the danger of the revival of religious remnants, the danger of the hostile ideological pressure to poison people's minds through religion, the «opiate of the people», exists.

All these and other poison-bearing channels of the ideological aggression have an objective character. They exist irrespective of our conscience and will. Whether we like it or not, bourgeois ideology acts. But this does not mean that we must submit to it. On the contrary, the subjective factor plays a great role in the struggle against these channels, to prevent bourgeois ideology having a free field to spread its poison into our country and implant it in the consciousness of our man. The important thing is that every person, by arming himself with the Marxist-Leninist ideology,

can and must become an insurmountable obstacle to the penetration of bourgeois ideology into his own consciousness, that of his family, that of the people he works with.

5. A STEEL PILLAR

The struggle of the enemies of Albania is spearheaded against the PLA in the first place because its liquidation means the liquidation of socialism. But the enemies do not neglect another great force of the PLA, the youth, at whom, they aim their poisoned arrows.

The class struggles is reflected with special sharpness in the formation and education of the younger generation. What path will the younger generation follow, with what ideals will they be imbued, with which ideology will they be armed, how will they be moulded and educated? This is a problem of great historic importance.

Two lines can be seen in the world today as regards the education of the younger generation: the Marxist-Leninist line and the bourgeois and revisionist line. The Marxist-Leninist line is aimed at the education of the younger generation with the ideals of the revolution, socialism and communism, while the bourgeois-revisionist line is aimed at educating the youth with the bourgeois

outlook and morality, with the immediate purpose that the imperialists and the revisionists ensure docile acceptance of their domination and with the long-term purpose of consolidating and perpetuating this domination.

But the range of action of the imperialists and the revisionists in the field of education of the younger generation for its moral and political degeneration also extends to other countries. It is a fact that the youth have always been and still are a target of the activity of the enemies. Ideological aggression, too, aims its arrows especially at the younger generation, to conquer its mind and heart. Why do the imperialists and the revisionists do this?

They aim at the youth because they proceed from the role it plays in society. A large part of the world's population are under 20 years of age. The youth are everywhere, in schools, in production, in the army, in art and culture, etc. Proceeding from this, the bourgeois ideologists draw the conclusion that the «torrent of youth alters the ocean of adults far more quickly than all the rivers of the earth's surface can change the world's ocean». This figurative comparison means that in order to change the situation in a country, imperialism and revisionism try to take hold of the youth. Their aim and program is to prepare a younger generation everywhere, which is the bearer of bourgeois and anti-socialist ideas, a generation from which new bourgeois-revisionist elements, enemies of the revolution and the proletariat will emerge continuously. The revisionists fear the renewal of the generation of revolutionaries, because in this they see their

own doom, the impossibility of continuing and perpetuating their traitorous, counter-revolutionary work.

The youth will live and fight in the future, therefore the struggle for who will have it on his side, is of great importance. Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us that whoever has won the youth over to his side, has the victory, the future. The youth will replenish the ranks of the working class and its party, will be in power, in leading posts. The youth are the future communists, the future cadres of socialism. Precisely this is one of the motives which prompt the enemies to poison its consciousness, to wean the youth away from the road of the revolution and socialism and to put it on their counter-revolutionary course.

At the present stage the aims of the enemies are to penetrate gradually, imperceptibly, into the minds and conscience of the younger generation, by pandering to the youth in order to corrupt their senses with the «modernisms» of the bourgeois-revisionist world. The better we educate the youth with the ideology of Marxism-Leninism, the more we temper them physically and morally in lessons and at work, the better for socialism.

The external and internal enemies have always tried, with various and refined methods, to instil the spirit of indifference to politics and apathy in the youth, to alienate them from the class struggle and drive them into passivity. In this direction, the ideological aggression cannot achieve its aim all at once, therefore it tries to bring about the degeneration of the youth in stages, little by little, by creating

breaches, in such fields as the way of life of the youth, their tastes, clothing, and so on. Therefore, the ideo-esthetic and ideo-moral education of the youth in the Marxist-Leninist spirit demands special attention.

In his youth, a person has certain characteristics which Marxism-Leninism teaches us how to use to the benefit of the revolution and socialism, while imperialism and revisionism try to use them in the opposite direction, to the detriment of the revolution and socialism. What are these characteristics?

It is known that the youth lack the necessary tempering at work, they do not have the experience and practice of the past. The PLA struggles to make up for this natural deficiency by imbuing the youth of Albania with the Marxist-Leninist ideology, in close connection with life, and involving them in action after action, so that they always live, work and fight like revolutionaries. At the same time, however, the enemies are operating, too. Taking advantage of the youth's lack of the necessary experience, they want to sow the seed of degeneration in their ranks, to instil their reactionary spirit into the youth, to spread their poison and create ideological confusion. Relying on the fact that at the age of the youth, their world outlook is still in the state of formation, and they are more readily influenced, either for better or for worse, the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists carry out political agitation and bourgeois propaganda in their ranks in order to brainwash them, aiming to hoodwink them in the interests of the bourgeoisie and the revisionists. Experience hitherto has shown

that the propaganda of the enemies to inculcate the youth with bourgeois ideology has been unceasing at all stages.

The views of present-day bourgeois philosophy, which strive in every way to erase the distinction between good and evil play an important role in the degeneration of the youth. There are many such views, but let us mention only one of them.

According to the bourgeois ideologists, the man of today, especially the youth of today, faces the alternative, either to accept present-day society with all its evils, or to return to the bestial state.

This reactionary «theory» means: you, young people, do not fight against the evils of present-day bourgeois society, be patient, your life will improve! Hence you should not rise in revolution! If you do not agree with this, then, return to the world of beasts, from which men have come. In this society, «man will be free from work, nothing will hinder love, life will be a wonderful game»!

In the bourgeois and revisionist countries, these «theories» have been applied by hippies and hooligans. Both in their outward appearance and in their daily life, these young people remind us of primitive man, cave man, man in his bestial state. The bourgeoisie connives at such phenomena. Its aim is to divert the youth from the revolutionary struggle, thereby prolonging the existence of the bourgeoisie.

In the conditions of the capitalist and revisionist countries, people's minds and ideas have lost their sense of direction like a compass needle in

a magnetic storm. In such a situation, people are seeking ways out. Many of them, especially young people, abandon their families, wander aimlessly, devoid of ideals, hope or livelihood, become drug-addicts, get caught up in crime and degeneration and many end in suicide. This life of drugs and degeneration is «justified» as protest and revolt by the youth against the bourgeois regime. The bourgeoisie encourages and spreads this way of life, because in this way it can best ensure its domination.

These manifestations are utterly alien to the youth of Albania. They are brought up cheerful and happy; they work, study and fight for the people, the Homeland and the revolution. In this struggle they are tempered and moulded morally, politically and ideologically. The youth of socialist Albania are aware that, should their morality start to degenerate, every victory will be in jeopardy and Homeland will be in danger, because the imperialists and the revisionists are doing their utmost to infect the youth with the microbe of degeneration, for only in this way, can they prolong their existence a little.

One of the characteristics of the youth of Albania is that, compared with the elderly, they are freer from the hangovers, for they have been born and are living in the years of the people's state power and have been continuously imbued with the teachings of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha. From this viewpoint, the consciousness of the youth is like a «blank sheet of paper». Everything depends on who will write on this «paper». The truth

is that the powerful pen of the Party has «been writing» on the consciousness of our young people, continuously, from the time of their birth, therefore they are its loyal sons and daughters. Nevertheless, we must not forget that there are also remnats from the past in the consciousness of the youth, against which a resolute struggle must be waged. At the 7th Congress of the Labour Youth Union of Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha said: «We must protect our youth, who are so pure, so heroic, so brave, so bold, so mature and happy from the slog». Likewise we must not forget that great efforts are being made to «write» on the consciousness of the youth by the enemies, who are trying to infect the spiritual purity of the youth with their ideology, to use them in their own interests. Wherever our ideologocial work is lacking or weak, there the ideology of the enemy takes root.

The sense of the new is pronounced among the youth. The taking of initiatives, the dissemination of advanced experience in production is a tendency of the youth. In the capitalist and revisionist world, this tendency of the youth is not encouraged, but, on the contrary, is used as a means of competition and profit. Under capitalism, the master craftsman is reluctant to teach the youth his skill, indeed, he keeps it a secret, because profit comes first there. The same thing occurs in the revisionist countries, too, where without profit and bribes, experience is not imparted. In such conditions, it is impossible to take revolutionary initiatives. The youth's desire for the progressive new in production is suppressed.

Quite the reverse occurs in Albania. Aware of the characteristic of the youth that they have the sense of the progressive new, the PLA directs this into various movements and actions in the fields of production, education and study. The youth are always initiators and innovators. They are fighters and standard-bearers in the implementation of the progressive, revolutionary new. «But this is precisely what the ideological aggression of the imperialists and the revisionists seeks to exploit, by taking advantage of the natural, healthy inclination of the youth to introduce the new everywhere. Precisely in these circumstances, imperialism and revisionism, as well as the political scoundrels within the country who play their game and the others who follow them, aim to confuse the younger generation, to alienate them from the road of the revolution and lead them into a blind alley»[1]. In the name of the new, they try to attract the youth by dishing up to them what, in reality, is not new. Not every new thing is revolutionary. In some cases the old can emerge in the form of the new. For example, decadent bourgeois art is presented as something new, as something contemporary. However behind it lurk the clutches of the bourgeoisie. Therefore, as Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us: «For, us, Marxist-Leninists, that which serves the destruction of everything obsolete, retrogressive and

1 Ramiz Alia, «Further Improve the Work for Strengthening the Socialist Educative Role of the School,» «Rruga e Partisë» review, No. 3, 1974.

reactionary, everything alien to our society and ideology, is new...»[1].

The youth like the beautiful. This is another of their characteristics towards which there are two opposing attitudes: «The PLA cultivates this feeling in the service of the revolutionary education and mobilization of the youth, while the imperialists and the revisionists try to serve up to the youth as beautiful something which is not such. They coat the poison pill with sugar. The imperialists and the revisionists give their art and culture an attractive external veneer in order to disguise the poison of their reactionary ideas. Long ago, Lenin laid down the task: «We must wage an unceasing struggle against any bourgeois ideology, under whatever cloak... of brilliant colours it may be presented»[2].

Imitation is pronouced among children and the youth. Frequently they do whatever they see. The PLA always instructs that what is good should be assimilated, that the positive example should be followed, while the enemies operate very cunningly in the opposite direction: so that children and the youth imitate what is bad, follow the negative example. Suffice it to mention one example. Some time ago, a book was circulated in Czechoslovakia, in the pages of which there were instructions on how groups of gangsters can be organized and how

1 Enver Hoxha, «Reports and Speeches, 1972-1973», p. 318 (Alb. ed.).

2 V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 5, p. 401 (Alb. ed.).

to commit a murder without the victim becoming aware of the danger. As a result of incitement to these acts, whereas forty per cent of the total crimes in that country were perpetrated by the youth 5 to 6 years earlier, this figure had increased to more than 50 per cent in 1976.

There is another tendency among children and youth: they like to assert themselves, to occupy the lime light, especially before the opposite sex. Thus, a boy wants to do something before a girl and boast to her. The child likes to appear more grown up than he is and to do something which is not for his age. The enemies seek to take advantage of this characteristic of the youth too, especially among adolescents 15 years of age and upwards, to incite them to evil vices, to commit acts of hooliganism, and so on.

Moral degeneration has now won official acceptance in the revisionist countries. For example, night clubs which do not differ at all from the cabarets in the Western countries, are springing up on every boulevard and every street corner. These centres of corruption serve as black markets for the buying and selling of girls. It is not at all surprising that these cabarets carry the «state» label, because the revisionist state itself encourages such a thing.

The facts and events show clearly that the basic cause of the degeneration of the young generation is the revisionist course of capitalist restoration, the bourgeois and revisionist order that has been established there. To conceal this truth, the revisionists have set in motion an entire army of psychologists

and pseudo-scientists who are trying to present the evil phenomena as though they stem from the «personal characteristics» of individuals, from their «subjective features», their «temperament» and biological predisposition», etc.!

The degeneration of the youth in the revisionist countries has its source in the degeneration of the parties of the working class. The tragedy that took place in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries teaches us this. As the party is, so is the youth. The degeneration of the party of the working class brings in its wake the degeneration of the youth.

The youth of Albania are pure morally, sound politically, and mature ideologically, staunch fighters for the implementation of the line of the Party. There are many proofs of their readiness, patriotism and heroism. The younger generation of Albania is like steel, because the Party leading them is like steel. Under the correct leadership of the PLA, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, the youth contemtuously spurn any alien influence of bourgeois and revisionist ideology, any manifestation of corruption and degeneration from whatever quarter it may come. They have been, are, and always will be, under the leadership of the Party, a steel pillar of socialism in Albania. Nonetheless, the PLA teaches us that we must never forget that the youth have always been and always will be a target for the activity of all enemies, that the threat of the ideological aggression, the danger of the degeneration of the youth, exists. Therefore

the Marxist-Leninist political and ideological education and revolutionary tempering of the youth must go on uninteruptedly to ensure that they always work, study and fight like revolutionaries.

6. TWO SECRET WEAPONS

Ideological aggression does not operate through its poison-bearing channels alone. There are also secret weapons which serve ideological subversion and aggression adeptly. Imperialism and revisionism «throw the stone and hide the hand». There are two secret arms of theirs which reach out to many countries of the world. One of them is that of US imperialism, called the CIA and the other is that of Soviet social-imperialism, called the KGB. We must acquaint ourselves with these two secret weapons of the two superpowers and be on guard against them.

What is the CIA?

The bourgeois propaganda concocts many legends and makes a big fuss about the CIA, the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States of America, this secret weapon of US imperialism, about this «part of the executive office of the President. . an instrument of the presidencial policy» as the British paper «The Times» wrote some time ago.

Explaining the role of the CIA in American foreign policy, in his memoirs, the former US president, Truman, writes: «Whenever the National Security Council considers a given activity — say, a policy connected with South-west Asia — it will immediately ask the CIA to present its assessment of the consequences such a policy would have...».

The CIA was born as an espionage institution right after World War Two, precisely at the time when the United States of America set itself the task of establishing its hegemony over the entire world. Its headquarters is in the state of Virginia, discreetly concealed on a site covered in greenery and surrounded by a high fence, in a massive concrete and glass building known as the «pickle factory» which, in reality, is the headquarters of the US Central Intelligence Agency. The only eye-catching feature about that building is the marble slab above the main entrance carrying the inscription, «Truth will make you free».

But what is the truth about the CIA? Let us refer to facts, and look into the functions it carries out as a secret weapon of US imperialism. One of the main functions of the CIA is the organization of espionage and terror in the United States of America itself. In the USA there is a huge apparatus engaged in espionage, eaves-dropping and surveillance, which carries out fascist check-up and terror not only against the various social organizations, such as those of the students, the black population, and so on, but also against every rank and file American citizen, including his private life. For example, in the USA, there are more than 800,000

complete files on American organizations and citizens that are kept under surveillance by special organs of coercion of the bourgeois state apparatus. The aim of this activity is to check up on and terrorize the American people. To achieve this aim, the CIA coordinates its activity with the monopolies and maintains ganster organizations and fascist cliques.

But the CIA's hostile activity is not confined to within the USA only. On the contrary, it conducts its main counter-revolutionary activity on all the continents of the world, in order to suppress the revolutionary movement of the proletariat and the liberation movement of the peoples, to conspire and to overthrow the governments which do not follow the USA. The hostile activity of the CIA in other countries is not accidental. As long as the domestic policy of the United States is reactionary, its foreign policy, which always emanates from the domestic policy, will be reactionary, too. Its policy abroad will be like its policy at home.

To attain its hostile aims, US imperialism has sent CIA agents to many countries of the world. They operate under the cloak of diplomats, businessmen, scientists, tourists, journalists, missionaries, and so on. The American CIA has more than 10,000 permanent employees and more than 200,000 informers who operate on behalf of the US espionage. There are CIA agents working in most of the «Voice of America» radiostations, where they engage in unbridled hostile propaganda and carry out ideological aggression. In disguised ways, the CIA also has control of the press of the United States and

many other countries, by supplying them with news which serves its aims. Through the press, it brainwashes public opinion and «guarantees» the readers. According to a spokesman for the CIA, «journalists have always been used in the role of CIA agents.»

The CIA cunningly disguises its espionage activity. Take, for example, the «Peace Corps» the alleged aim of which is to promote «human progress». Under this pretext, as the press reports, more than 80,000 «volunteers» have gone to various countries, disguised as doctors, teachers, nurses, agronomists, and so on, but in fact, they carry out disruptive subversive activity.

The hands of the CIA agents are stained with the blood of the peoples. It is acknowledged officially that they had a hand in the murder of Lumumba in the Congo and of Allende in Chile, in the bloody events in Guatemala and Lebanon, in the criminal campaigns in South Vietnam, in the barbarous bombardments of the Cambodian population, and so on. Apart from this, the CIA agents engage in training terrorists who kill true patriots and revolutionary militants in Latin America and other countries of the world. They are taught how to be deadly marksmen to shoot revolutionaries and progressives.

The instigation and organization of coups d'etat and putsches is one of the counter-revolutionary objectives of the CIA. It has organized coups d'etat in many different countries of the world: in Iran in 1953, in Guatemala in 1954, in Brazil in 1964, where the US military attaché was also involved, in Chile in 1973, where, with the help of the special

fund of several million dollars, the CIA carried out a fascist putsch and overthrew the former government of president Allende, in Cyprus in 1974, where CIA was the inspirer of the bloody events, and so on. There is no coup d'etat in Latin America which the CIA is not behind. Two former CIA agents write among other things: «In many Latin-American countries, the CIA has regularly tapped the telephone conversations of high ranking officials and installed bugging apparatuses in the homes of many important personalities, including cabinet ministers».

To run all its hostile activity, of political, military and ideological subversion, the CIA employs a force of thousands. It is the owner of one of the biggest commercial air fleets in the world. It has arms depots in various countries of the world, disguised under various labels. It has the best-equipped schools to train its agents, has at its disposal rifle ranges, laboratories and absolutely modern communication centres, with the last word in electronic apparatus, and has a budget officially admitted to be 11 billion dollars per year, apart from other secret funds. Only twenty per cent of the personnel of the US embassies are paid by the US State Department, while the remaining 80 per cent are paid by the Defence Department, the CIA and other agencies.

The CIA is closely linked with the Vatican, just as Italian fascism and German nazism were. CIA funds are used by the «men of God» of the Vatican, to organize and publicize various religious festivals. An Italian newspaper has written that

in 1950, the Vatican received more than 3 million dollars from the CIA for the organization of «Holy Year». The signature of the Pope himself appears on the CIA pay sheets. The US press has also admitted that hundreds of American priests who go to Latin America and Africa as missionaries are secret agents of the CIA. The Vatican has always been a centre of reaction against the peoples, a prop of fascism, imperialism and revisionism. It is also one of the centres of anti-Albanian subversion. Fascist criminals, agents and spies have been assembled there, and have been trained and set to cause destruction and difficulties in socialist Albania. But they have failed and the Vatican has been exposed.

What is the KGB?

The KGB is the counterpart of the American CIA, the Security Committee of the Soviet state which follows the same line and runs the social-imperialist espionage.

In an attempt to justify the exceptionally heavy expenditure of the Soviet Union in the direction of espionage, the Kremlin chieftains have described the KGB «as an organ indispensable to Soviet policy». A vast network has been built up of Soviet spies sent to many countries of the world as journalists, businessmen or diplomats. Though disguised with diplomatic passports, the Soviet spies have been discovered and expelled from more than 40 countries of the world, as in the cases of the expulsion of 105 Soviet spies from Britain, 100

others from France, and so on. In 1971, alone, more than 700 Soviet spies were denounced by 20 countries, and more than 200 of them on charge of subversive activity. Over 90 thousand agents of Soviet social-imperialism are operating in many countries of Africa, Latin America, etc.

According to figures from the world press, 72 per cent of the Soviet diplomats are KGB agents, while the remainder carry out tasks on its behalf. Four thousand professional KGB agents, who pose as «friends», are operating in various countries.

Wherever Soviet «friends» set foot, today, the KGB agents are operating. By means of roubles, they make attempts to «take root», by establishing various espionage centres and recruiting agents in the service of Soviet social-imperialism. According to foreign press reports, the number of spies recruited by the KGB in France amounts to 20,000, in West Germany 10,000, in Italy more than 1.000, and so on. In order to spread their decadent culture, the Soviet social-imperialists have set up about 40 «educational» and «cultural» centres in many countries of the world. In 1975, for example, about 1,200 Soviet «teachers» worked in these centres, while in 1977, this number had increased even further. What are these «volunteers» after outside their own country? Can this be considered as aid for the development and progress of the peoples? No. These are KGB agents disguised under the cloak of «disinterested aid», to bemuse the minds of people, especially the youth in the countries where they carry out their hostile activity.

As is known, the PSRA does not maintain

diplomatic, commercial, cultural or any other relations with the two superpowers. Thus, the USA and the Soviet Union cannot dispatch their spies under the cloak of diplomats, businessmen, artists, and so on. But this does not mean that they have given up their efforts to work through their agencies against socialist Albania. The facts show that they have tried to achieve their designs through some diplomat of another capitalist or revisionist country, by means of some tourist who has come allegedly just on a visit to our country, and so on. The imperialists and the social-imperialists try to achieve their aims through aggression and subversion. The Soviet KGB has set up special centres and sectors which are working intensively against Albania, too. But these attempts have failed and always will fail in the face of the high vigilance of the people and the State Security Force. It is indispensable that this vigilance be raised even higher in the future, because, as Comrade Enver Hoxha said at the 7th Congress of the PLA: «Never before has the world been subjected to such subversion and propaganda and diplomatic campaigns as this the imperialists and the social-imperialists are engaged in at present, which is intended to prettify the hegemonic and expansionist policy of the superpowers, to justify their aggressions and to conceal their war preparations»[1].

The attitude towards the two superpowers has

1 Enver Hoxha, «Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA», p. 182 (Alb. ed.).

been and still is a touchstone and barometer showing whether or not one is really fighting against imperialism and revisionism. Not just one, but both the superpowers are dangerous. You cannot rely on one to fight the other. The PLA teaches us that we must fight on two fronts: against US imperialism and against Soviet social-imperialism, both of which aim to dominate the world.

7. KEEN EYESIGHT

Keen eyesight is one of the distinguishing features of the Albanian working people. Wherever they may be, they are keen-eyed, vigilant guards and defenders of the Party, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Homeland, and the socialist property. But the enemy is perfidious. Vigilance, the wide-awake, keen eye, are always required from us all. «The waters may sleep, but not the enemy».

Where should the enemy be sought? How should we uncover him? First of all, we must know that the main methods used by the enemy is that of propaganda, which is intended to distort reality, to play up the strength of the imperialists and the revisionists and play down our strength, to sow panic and lack of confidence in our own strength. Our task is to be keen of ear and eye, to combat the slogans of the enemy and those who spread such slogans, to discover and expose them, there and then.

Our Party teaches and our experience shows us that whenever the plan is not fulfilled, the

objective and subjective causes must be considered, but the sabotage activity of the enemy cannot be excluded, either.

The internal and external enemy operates in the field of ideology, too. To cope with the enemy's aggression and reactionary activity in this field, requires that we constantly develop ideological vigilance, which is one's ability to discern the ideas of the enemy, however sugar-coated they may be, the ability to penetrate to their reactionary essence, their poison. To be vigilant ideologically means to distinguish between distorted views and correct views, to discern the aims of the enemy, which are hidden behind his theses, means not to take «soap for cheese», as the people say, not to take poison for honey.

Ideological struggle is a struggle of ideas, a struggle of views. When the ideas of the enemy are manifested openly either by word of mouth or in writing, it is easier to discover and combat them. But it is not always like that. The enemies do not always attack openly, for fear of being discovered. They operate on the sly, too. There are enemy ideas which are disguised, camouflaged, to discover and fight them is more difficult. In these cases if ideological vigilance is lacking, if the reactionary concept is not attacked the bourgeois and revisionist ideology inevitably worms its way in.

One can be keen-eyed, when he is also keen-minded. A wise saying of our people: «It is not the eye but the mind that sees», is to the point. Thus, one's vigilance is linked with his tempering. We are

tempered with the Marxist-Leninist ideology of our Party, in close connection with the struggle for the construction of socialism. We arm ourselves with it to overcome the ideological aggression.

Why should we arm ourselves with the ideology of Marxism-Leninism, the revolutionary ideology of the PLA, with the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha?

First, because there is not and cannot be a vacuum in the consciousness of man. The human consciousness is not something petrified, standard, immovable, formed and finished once and for all. It is subject to continuous change. These changes are both positive and negative. The changes the human consciousness undergoes are dependent on objective and subjective factors, economic and social factors, on the ratio of forces, the class struggle, the ideas which inspire people, and the changing situation.

Man is not born either revolutionary or counter-revolutionary, but becomes such in the course of life. He becomes revolutionary by forming a revolutionary consciousness, by being nurtured with the revolutionary world outlook, without which there is no revolutionary action. He becomes counter-revolutionary by forming his consciousness as a counter-revolutionary, by being nurtured with the bourgeois and revisionist world outlook, without which there is no counter-revolutionary action. Thus, which course he takes depends on the consciousness he forms, on the outlook he creates, the ideology with which he is nurtured. If the consciousness of man is nurtured with the bourgeois

and revisionist ideology, he becomes counter-revolutionary. The ideology with which his consciousness is nurtured becomes implanted in man. One's consciousness is inevitably imbued either with the Marxist-Leninist ideology, or with the bourgeois-revisionist ideology. There is no middle road. There is no third ideology.

Proletarian ideology and bourgeois ideology are in irreconcilable struggle with each other. They are locked in a «blow for blow», life and death, clash. They cannot coexist in man's consicousness. One of them will triumph in the struggle. The one which emerges victorious will establish itself completely. If the Marxist-Leninist ideology wins and establishes itself, that person continues to be a revolutionary, if the ideology of the enemy establishes itself, then he becomes a counter-revolutionary. That is why being armed with the Marxist-Leninist ideology is of first-rate importance.

Second, the arming of man with Marxist-Leninist ideology is necessary because the class struggle, which is waged in all fields: political, ideological, economic, etc., continues, although at certain periods, sometimes one field of class struggle, sometimes another, may assume greater prominence.

Man finds himself between two pressures: the internal pressure and the external pressure. The remnants which he inherits from the past in his consciousness exert internal pressure on man. These remnants are «invisible enemies», «a malignant growth» in the human consciousness, and as the people say, «though they have no teeth, they bite». One of the aims of the enemies is to make use of these

remants which, for them, are an entire ideology, «a hotbed» in which the seeds of hostile activity sprout. The enemy hides behind remnants in the consciousness of a few individuals and incites them to evil ways, to the road of crime, thefts, underhand deals, cheating, parasitism, gossip-mongering, conceit, career-seeking, servility, and so on, by playing on the main nerve which links all the old remnants: narrow self-interest, the placing of personal interest above the general interest. Man is revolutionary so long as he puts the general interest first. When he begins to think of himself and not of society, when he tries to put narrow self-interest above the general interest, then, without his understanding it, the process of his degeneration commences. This is precisely what interests the class enemies. That is why the Party wages the class struggle on all fronts, and hits hard at the class enemies and their ideology. Through waging the class struggle, through Marxist-Leninist education and revolutionary tempering, the Party strives to clean out all the bad things, the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois remants in people's consciousness, wherever they manifest themselves.

The imperialist-revisionist ideological aggression exerts external pressure on man. This pressure is continuous and is intended to push people, first, into the positions of indifference and then, into the positions of opposition to the socialist order. We must not forget, also, that Albania does not live isolated from the surrounding capitalist and revisionist world, which, as Lenin said, in decomposing gives off all kinds of lethal germs into the air. This is

precisely what the ideological aggression, the external imperialist-revisionist pressure exploits. We see this in the statement of a bourgeois theoretician from West Germany, who says: «The conscious or unconscious imparting of Western ideas is the condition for carrying out the transformation of the social order without recourse to force».

The class struggle in these two directions, against the internal pressure and the external pressure, is a fierce, very complicated and important ideological struggle. This struggle is waged vigorously and on a broad front against all alien views, old and new, which are kept alive, inspired and encouraged by the internal and external bourgeois pressure. The waging of the class struggle on the ideological front and all the other fronts absolutely demands that we are permanently armed with the ideology of Marxism-Leninism.

Third, being armed with the ideology of Marxism-Leninism is necessary and indispensable because nobody is immune to the influence of the bourgeois and revisionist ideology. How can this be explained?

It is true that the socialist ideology is dominant in Albania, but this does not mean that the bourgeois and revisionist ideology from outside and the old remnants of the enemy ideology within the country, remain passive. On the contrary, they operate, make people waver and degenerate. We are revolutionaries, are continuing the road of the revolution, working for the complete construction of socialist society. But, while we are bearers of the revolution, there are those among us who do not understand that, at the same time, we are often bearers of

counter-revolution too, and this comes about because, without knowing it, we transmit remnants of the old ideology to the younger generations. Thus, «... though we are revolutionaries and always advance as such, at the same time, we are also bearers of the evil, bearers of something which can take us back from revolution to counter-revolution, if we do not wage a fierce struggle against this evil in our consciousness. This evil is 'the tendency to put self-interest first, above the general interest...»[1]. If we do not wage a resolute struggle to bury the counter-revolutionary ideology once and for all, it is capable of counter-attacking and burying the revolution.

Man is not only the subject, but also the object of the class struggle and the revolution. This means that we are and must be active fighters for the revolution not only against the class enemy, but also against our consciousness, in order to carry out revolution in our own consciousness, that is, we must continuously revolutionize our consciousness. This is the first premise for our revolutionary tempering. In this direction, the following teaching of Comrade Enver Hoxha is of very great value, «Nobody should think that he is guaranteed against every evil and has nothing to fight within himself. In the consciousness of every person, a stern struggle takes place between socialist ideology and bourgeois ideology. Everyone should see himself as in a mirror and, just as he washes his face everyday,

1 Mehmet Shehu, «On the Accomplishment of the Tasks for the Further Revolutionization of Our School,» p. 27, Tirana 1968, (Alb. ed.).

so should he clean his consciousness every day, adopting a communist stand towards himself»[1].

Under the internal and external pressure of the ideology of the enemy, there are people who slip into counter-revolutionary positions. And this can be explained. Life shows that man's consciousness undergoes two kinds of evolution.

One is the positive evolution. Everyone whose consciousness is cleaned constantly of the old remants of the past and who fights against the present bourgeois-revisionist influences undergoes positive evolution. This is typical of the new man in Albania, who is imbued with revolutionary ideas and thoughts. But it also happens that someone takes a wrong path. When some revolutionary does not fight properly, does not wage the class struggle and carry out the revolution in his own consciousness, does not wage the class struggle against the enemy and its ideology, and wage the class struggle in the ranks of the people, the waves of ideological oppression can drive him in to this road. However, by being under the influence of the revolutionary ideology of our Party, he is prevented from going further, gets off the poisonous hook of the enemy. The care of the Party aims at this, that is, to save the people from falling into the lap of the enemy. The Party teaches us that we must not allow the ideas and pressure of the class enemy to win even one person to their side. In this direction, the Party has continuously carried out wide-ranging patient

1 Enver Hoxha, Report submitted to the 5th Congress of the PLA, pp. 130-131, Tirana 1966. (Alb. ed.).

and persistent work to ensure that everybody always takes a revolutionary stand. Even at difficult moments, when our Party was clashing, face to face with such enemies as the Soviet revisionists with Khrushchev at the head, Comrade Enver Hoxha said: «In this unequal struggle, when the modern revisionists have aimed their guns at us, there will be those who grow weary. It is our duty to prevent them from falling. There will also be those who vacillate. It is our duty to strengthen their conviction. There will be those who surrender. We must try to ensure that they are as few as possible».[1]

The other is the negative evolution. Negative evolution affects the consciousness of that person who, under the pressure of the bourgeois ideology, of the remnants in his own consciousness, or of the internal and external enemies, falls into evil, indeed hostile ways, thus putting himself in opposition to the interests of the people, capitulating to the class enemy and becoming counter-revolutionary.

Hence, as a result of the two kinds of evolutions, positive and negative, which man's consciousness undergoes, he finds himself under the impact of two opposing forces, one that draws him forward and the other that drags him backward. The revolutionary ideology of our Party draws him forward. When the force that draws him forward on the road of the revolution, that is, the tempering with the ideology of the Party, is weakened, than the other force dragging backward, which is the ideology of the enemy, is strengthened. «When an equilibrum

1 Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 22, p.16 (Alb. ed.).

between these two opposing forces is reached, such a person finds himself at the crossroads; he does not know which way to go: forward — on the socialist road, or backward — on the capitalist road. But this hesitation is only temporary. The person who undergoes this process, either pulls himself together ideologically and forges ahead again like a revolutionary, vanguishing that evil force that drags him backward, or he surrenders completely to the retrogressive force that pulls him backward and becomes a counter-revolutionary»[1].

The bourgeois ideology operates continuously, tries to penetrate wherever it can find a breach. Hence those who say that «alien ideology cannot harm me» are mistaken. According to them, a person is allegedly guaranteed against any alien thing and is not influenced by the ideology of the enemy. Life has corroborated the correctness of the thesis of Comrade Enver Hoxha, that: «... it would be unpardonable if it were thought that in the future we will be guaranteed against any influence of the bourgeois and revisionist ideology, that our people are already immunized»[2].

Alien influences can establish themselves in Albania among those people who do not make efforts to assimilate and apply the revolutionary

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1 Mehmet Shehu. «On the Accomplishment of the Tasks for the Further Revolutionization of Our School», p. 29, Tirana 1968, (Alb. ed.).

2. Enver Hoxha, Report submitted to the 6th Congress of the PLA, 1971, p. 376. (Alb. ed.).

ideology of the PLA, who do not thoroughly acquaint themselves with the line, orientations and directives and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, who do not continuously revolutionize their consciousness. Among these people, there may even be some cadre who is content with what he knows, who does not make permanent efforts to raise his ideo-political level, who does not look at his work all the time with a critical eye, who does not confront it with the teachings of the Party and correct the «blemishes» in his consciousness where he has mistakes and shortcomings. Speaking about this question, Comrade Enver Hoxha has said: «The facts show that alien influences take root even in the cadres, that even their consciousness gets covered in dust. Therefore, this dust must be shaken off. It is good if this is not done only once in a while with a mighty shake-up, but every day with a brush, just as we clean our clothes every morning»[1].

The 7th Congress of the PLA stressed that the Marxist-Leninist education of the communists and the working people must be carried out in close connection with the teachings of the Party, with life and work. This helps us carry out the tasks, wherever we work, in the best possible way. In the theory and practice of the PLA, which is Marxism-Leninism in action in the conditions of Albania, we find an inexhaustible source of revolutionary inspiration and mobilization. The question is that we must use this study better in two main directions:

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1 Enver Hoxha, «Reports and Speeches 1972-1973», p. 376 (Alb. ed.).

First, as a weapon of education. We have at our disposal the works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism, the many documents of our Party, the works of Comrade Enver Hoxha. Now, we have at our disposal the historic materials of the 7th Congress of the PLA, especially the report of Comrade Enver Hoxha, as well as a number of speeches he made on his visit to the districts of Gjirokastra and Saranda, in March 1978.

Study of the teachings of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha in these documents is not for «decoration», for «intellectual adornment», but to arm us to fight persistently for the practical application of them. What is required in this direction is thorough study to create conviction about what is read, to understand the essence of matters, to draw lessons and benefit, to link theory with practice, to uproot the old concepts and to implant new revolutionary concepts according to the teaching of Comrade Enver Hoxha: «We must replace every bramble we uproot from the consciousness of the people with a beautiful flower...»[1].

Second, as weapon of guidance. The construction of socialism in our country is based on the dialectical materialist laws of development, on the theory of Marxism-Leninism, the correctness of which has been fully confirmed by the experience of our country. Hence, work in any sector cannot be run properly if these laws and principles of Marxism-Leninism are not known, assimilated and

1 Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 15, p. 217 (Alb. ed.).

implemented. What is needed in this field is to acquire the style and methods of work of the Party in the solution of various problems through study. This brings about that you run things better today than yesterday, and tomorrow, better than today.

In the study of Marxism-Leninism, closely linked with the teachings of the Party, greater will and persistence is required from every body. In this as in every other direction, the example of the communists plays a major role. By demanding more from himself every communist will be able to demand more from others. Certain concepts manifested here and there, such as «I have no time for study», «I am very busy with work», etc., are alien. He who does not study is left behind by life. There is no lack of time. It is up to man to make the most of it. What is lacking in many of those who do not study is the will, about which Comrade Enver Hoxha said at the 7th Congress of the PLA: «It is necessary that the communists temper their will to study individually, to raise their ideological, cultural and technical-professional level at the time. No one should say that he has no time to study»[1].

There are many forms in which people are armed ideologically. Apart from the forms of political education, there are many others that must be utilized ever better, such as the activities of an educational character carried out by the Party and the mass organizations, a series of means of informa-

1 Enver Hoxha, Report submitted to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 144 (Alb. ed.).

tion and social communication that find their way into the cultural institutions and the families, etc.

One of the forms of education, ideological tempering and, consequently, of sharpening vigilance, is discussion, debate, the confrontation of ideas and views. In the course of discussion, the confrontation of opposing ideas, people learn what is good and what is bad, learn how to distinguish the former from the latter, which to embrace and which to reject. The holding of debates, especially in the field of ideology greatly assists the sharpening of ideological vigilance, in order to successfully oppose the alien ideology. Therefore, as Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us: «The confrontation of views and debate should be used on a wide scale, within the ranks of the Party and the whole of society, in struggle against any manifestation of conformism and tendencies to cover up contradictions»[1].

The disclosure of contradictions through analysis of problems and phenomena, through criticism and self-criticism and the struggle to overcome them, constitutes an important factor for ideological tempering and sharpening vigilance. During this process people are educated so that they do not reconcile themselves to bad things but seize on what is positive and generalize it, and increase their ability to pass from the surface of the phenomena to their

1 Enver Hoxha, «On the Marxist-Leninist Education of the Cadres, Communists and the Masses», 1974, p. 662 (Alb. ed.).

essence. From this flows the duty that mistakes and shortcomings must not be covered up, but must be disclosed and criticized and moreover, the concepts hidden behind them must also be looked into. Bringing out what these concepts are and attacking them further enhances people's ideological vigilance.

Ideological tempering and sharpening of vigilance are strengthened by applying the method of class analysis. The foundation of this method is the question: who benefits from this opinion I hear, this action or deed I see? If they are to the benefit of the people, hence, if they are socially useful, then that view and action are correct. If they run counter to the interests of the people, the socialist society, that opinion and action must be prevented. This sharpens the ear and the eye, and increases vigilance.

The eye and ear are sharpened and trained when the mind is sharpened and trained. One's eyesight is clear when the mind is clear too. The sharpening of the mind leads to sharpening of the eye, the ear and vigilance. And the mind is sharpened by studying and fighting. The Party teaches us that vigilance is not the monopoly of a few, of the leadership of the Party, of the security organs, etc. All must be vigilant. We must all defend the line of the Party and its directives, the Marxist-Leninist principles. All of us must fight the bourgeois and revisionist ideology.

Ideological struggle and debate call for maturity and courage, one of the manifestations of which is confidence. It has occurred that some have been fearless on the field of battle with fire arms, but

have not shown themselves bold in the ideological struggle, because he lacked the ideological formation to fight manifestations of alien ideology properly. However the really brave man is he who acts and fights selflessly both in the war with fire arms and in the ideological struggle, displaying courage, maturity, wisdom, composure, caution, optimism and confidence in victory. These qualities directly sharpen ideological vigilance, too, and enable a person to oppose the bourgeois-revisionist ideology with the greatest courage.

The 7th Congress of the Party said that the Party must mould all the communists without exception, as brave men, who have the courage to criticize their own mistakes and those of their comrades without hesitation.

8. A GRANITE ROCK

Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, «the imperialist-revisionist encirclement manifests itself every hour and every day through great ideological pressure, the aim of which is to corrupt the minds of these among us who are not on guard to disrupt our economy and organization, to cause the moral and political degeneration of the masses, especially our youth and intelligentsia, to weaken their revolutionary spirit and to foster indifference and political apathy»[1].

Albania has long been encircled and has always smashed the encirclement. This encirclement has gone through a long process down to the present day, when it is a two-fold imperialist-revisionist encirclement.

First it was the Communist Party of Albania which was born in encirclement, fought in encircle-

1 Enver Hoxha, «Reports and Speeches 1972-1973», p. 241 (Alb. ed.).

ment and triumphed in encirclement, that found itself encircled by savage enemies. Numerous enemies tried to strangle this Party, in its infancy, but it struck them merciless blows with its iron fist. From this vigorous spark which emerged from the bosom of the people the inextinguishable fire of the liberation war was kindled and swept like a storm over the occupiers and traitors. The Party forged steadily ahead and led the people in the Anti-fascist National Liberation War to the great victory of Liberation.

During the Anti-fascist National Liberation War the US and British imperialist tried to gobble up our country. They and the other reactionaries around our borders wanted to poke their noses into free Albania and enslave it. But the people, with the Party at the head, became the masters of Albania. The Party upset the plans of the enemies and they were left lamenting. Nonetheless they did not give up the encirclement of our country. On the contrary, this encirclement has been continously tightened.

The new Albania was born in encirclement. From Liberation to this day, it has always been encircled.

It is common knowledge that after the death of Stalin, revisionism began to revive in a number of communist and workers' parties; in the first place, revisionism came to power in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. A new anti-Marxist current, Khrushchevite revisionism, was crystallizing in the ranks of the international communist movement. Up to October 1961, the struggle against this current was waged within the ranks of inter-

national communism; but then the struggle became public, because Khrushchev attacked us openly from the rostrum of the 22nd Congress of the revisionist CPSU. Khrushchev's treachery came out in the open. The savage hostile activity of the Krushchevite revisionists was added to the customary hostile activity of the imperialists and the other reactionaries against our country. In this way, the encirclement of Albania became a two-fold encirclement: imperialist-revisionist encirclement, an iron encirclement, in which, as Comrade Enver Hoxha put it at that time, the wolf wanted to get into the sheepfold, but «We must close the door to the wolf and kill it with a bullet». In such conditions, the imperialist-revisionist encirclement is by no means passive and merely geographical, but a threatening, active encirclement, which is fighting us in all fields and directions. In the first place and above all, the imperialist-revisionist encirclement is uninterrupted and intense political, ideological, economic, military, cultural and psychological pressure by external enemies against our country. The final objective of this encirclement is the destruction of socialism and the restoration of capitalism in Albania.

How does this encirclement operate against Albania today?

This encirclement of Albania is active in the political field in the first place. In this field, this encirclement is expressed in the form of political pressure.

The political pressures on Albania have been

and are continuous. Their main authors today are the US imperialists, the Soviet social-imperialists and others. These pressures are of the most varied kinds and are reflected in the documents of the Party and the state.

We think there is no need to dwell on all the bandit-like anti-Albanian activities of the various imperialists and revisionists. It is sufficent to recall what pressures the Soviet revisionists exerted to break the PLA, how they tried to have an agency of theirs within our Party, how they called for counter-revolution in Albania at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; let us recall how they unilaterally broke all the trade, cultural and other agreements with Albania, how they cut off credits and imposed an economic blockade, how they exerted pressure on us for rapprochement with the Tito clique and its rehabilitation, let us recall how they went so far as to break off diplomatic relations with socialist Albania, and so on.

The aims of the political pressures of imperialists and revisionists and all reactionaries against socialism have been and are common aims: to subjugate the people and the Marxist-Leninist party, to lead to the liberalization and destruction of the dictatorship of the proletariat which has been established in our country, to alienate the people from the revolutionary road, from the construction of socialism and communism, and from the principled revolutionary struggle against the imperialist and revisionist enemies. This pressure is aimed at suppressing the only voice in Europe which is raised

courageously against their aggressive expansionist policy and which fearlessly tears the mask from the sinister plans, demagogy and lies of the superpowers, against the peoples and the revolution.

It is well known that the Albanian Party and people have never submitted to any pressure. Even at very difficult moments, Comrade Enver Hoxha has said: «In this situation, cool-heads are needed and in any situation, however difficult, brave people are always cool-headed, and make no concession to the enemies»[1]. This is what will happen in the future, too. The pressures of enemies will never succeed in Albania. The imperialists and the revisionists are accustomed to using pressure and intimidation. But the Albanian people are not afraid. Their bravery and courage have existed through the centuries. We are on the right path and that is why we withstand any enemy political pressure and always emerge victorious.

It is true that we are encircled by enemies, but we are in no way isolated politically and ideologically. The facts and history testify to this. To be isolated politically and ideologically means to be alone, to enjoy no sympathy outside the borders of the country, means that the revolutionary ideas of the PLA which are based on Marxism-Leninism remain confined within the country. But this is not the case with Albania. The PSRA maintains diplomatic relations with 77 states. The Albanian people have friends all over the world. They

1 Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 22, p. 36 (Alb. ed.).

express their great respect and admiration for the Albanian people and the leadership of the PLA. This is a result of the correct line pursued by the Party, of its fearless revolutionary courage to expose imperialism and revisionism thoroughly. Hence we are not and never have been isolated politically and ideologically. There can be no ideological isolation in the century of Marxism-Leninism.

The enemies are fighting us, but who are on the attack in reality — the sinister forces of imperialism and revisionism or the forces of Marxism-Leninism, the revolution and socialism?

He who holds the initiative is on the offensive. It is not the imperialists and the revisionists who have the initiative. Even when they attack, we counter-attack and triumph. This marks their further defeat. Thus, it is the Marxist-Leninist ideology, it is we, that are on the attack. We, the Marxist-Leninist forces, hold the initiative. Our ranks are closed. Our ideology is always victorious.

This is the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist ideology, which is more and more conquering the minds and hearts of people anywhere in the world and becoming part and parcel of their consciousness.

In socialist Albania, the dominant ideology is the Marxist-Leninist ideology, which is waging its struggle not only within the national framework. Within the country, the Party is doing intensive, wide-ranging political and ideological work. But the ideological struggle of the PLA is being waged in the international arena, too. The clash between us and the external enemies is fierce. The Albanian challenge has smashed the counter-revolutionary

plans of the imperialists and the modern revisionists to smithereens.

The struggle of the PLA against encirclement in the political and ideological aspect goes on uninterruptedly, for the exposure of imperialism and revisionism. This struggle lays bare the true features of these enemies and all other reactionaries, their demagogy «about peace» and their warmongering character, lights the way for the peoples who are fighting for freedom, independence and social progress, for socialism. This is a principled, revolutionary struggle, without compromise or concession, which resolutely defends the national interests and is an expression of true internationalism.

The struggle of the PLA against imperialism and revisionism is an ideological class struggle, spearheaded against the reactionary «theories» of bourgeois and revisionist ideologists. The fundamental basis of the ideological struggle of the PLA against the imperialist and revisionist ideological aggression is Marxism-Leninism. We are not waging the ideological struggle merely because the imperialists and the revisionists have attacked us, but because they are opposed to Marxism-Leninism, the revolution and socialism. In defending Marxism-Leninism, we are also defending socialism in Albania. In defending and implementing the principles of proletarian internationalism, we are also defending the national interests of Albania.

The political and ideological exposure by the PLA of imperialism and revisionism shows the peoples the truth about the phenomena taking place in the capitalist and revisionist countries, about the eco-

nomic and financial crises, about unemployment and price increases, about poverty and the other ills of the decaying bourgeois society, about the enslaving plans of the European Common Market and the Council of Mutual Economic Aid, and so on.

The extension, development and strengthening of the Marxist-Leninist movement throughout the world is a great obstacle to imperialism and revisionism. Both imperialism and revisionism are disintegrating today. Revisionism is split into several currents. This situation is also a consequence of the continuous determined struggle that the Marxist-Leninists have been and are waging. Nonetheless, as Comrade Enver Hoxha said at the 7th Congress of the PLA: «The enemies of communism have now stepped up their diversion against Marxism-Leninism. Split or united, dependent on or independent of Moscow or anybody else, in their role as anti-communists, they fight in union against the revolution and our parties, against Marxism-Leninism». And he continued: «Our Party holds that the continuation and extension of the ideological struggle against revisionism in general, and of Soviet revisionism in particular, the deepening of that great polemic which began after the 1960 Moscow Meeting, constitutes an important and imperative duty for all the Marxist-Leninists, for all true revolutionaries»[1].

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1 Enver Hoxha, Report submitted to the 7th Congress of the PLA. pp. 220-221 and p. 226 (Alb. ed.).

The revolutionary struggle of the PLA against imperialism and revisionism is waged with a series of political and ideological forms and means, one of which is our press, which exposes our enemies with written documents. Beginning with the newspaper «Zëri i popullit», according to demand, our press is sent to many countries of the world and is read with great interest, because the truth of Marxism-Leninism finds its embodiment in its pages. Our press is as hated by the open and disguised enemies of the PLA and the Albanian people as it is dear to our people and the fraternal peoples of the other countries, the Marxist-Leninist parties and all the revolutionaries in the world.

In this context, an important role is played by the materials of the Party and the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha, which are demanded all over the world and are considered documents of great theoretical and practicial value for the international communist and workers' movement. Many materials of the PLA and Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha have now been translated into many foreign languages by a number of Marxist-Leninist parties and groups, various associations and publishing houses. The 19th Volume of the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha has been translated into several foreign languages. This volume received a great deal of publicity and has been highly praised in the world abroad. This was the case also with the reports delivered at the 7th Congress of the PLA, which were translated, printed and put in circulation by friends and wellwishers of the Al-

banian Party and people in a number of capitalist and revisionist countries.

Various organs of the press in many countries of the world write with social admiration about the materials of the PLA and the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha. Both they and various individuals appreciate and express their feelings about the strength and correctness of the Marxist-Leninist ideas of the PLA. Here are some of their comments:

A person from Madagascar writes: «For me personally, it was the greatest joy when I received the wonderful Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha». A German writes: «The 18th and 19th volumes of the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha document the principled struggle of the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha against the modern revisionists... These volumes are a powerful weapon for the education of the communists and the working people about all the problems of the revolution and socialist counstruction». A Finn said: «The first conclusion I have drawn from the content of the 19th volume is that Albania's political and economic position is very strong and many countries in Europe and the world envy it». After reading the 19th volume, an African said: «Well done! Though one of the small countries of the world, Albania enjoys great prestige that even bigger countries might envy», and so on.

Many letters continue to pour into Albania from friends and wellwishers from different countries of the world, in which high appraisals are made of the proceedings of the 7th Congress of our Party. Thus, a Spaniard writes: «Many people have

followed the proceedings of the 7th Congress of your Party with interest. There is no doubt that Albania is an example to be followed by all the revolutionaries and peoples of the world». An Italian writes: «I convey to you my admiration and that of my Italian revolutionary comrades over the great event — the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania. The heroic struggle of the PLA for the cause of the revolution and socialism, for the triumph of Marxism-Leninism, helps us to understand the revolutionary road that must be followed to achieve true liberation from oppression and exploitation, to turn the ideals of socialism and communism into reality». After reading the report of Comrade Enver Hoxha, to the 7th Congress of the PLA, a person from Marocco writes: «Through this letter, I express my feelings of support for the analysis made by Comrade Enver Hoxha of the present international situation, for his just and stern denunciation of the two superpowers, US imperialism and Russian social-imperialism», etc., etc.

Another powerful means which operates against imperialism and revisionism, and their ideological aggression is Radio-Tirana, which broadcasts programs in 17 foreign languages totalling 70 hours per day. Its broadcasts are heard on all continents of the world. If the radio stations of some capitalist and revisionist countries give more foreign languages broadcasts, we have a great advantage they do not have — the revolutionary content of our broadcasts, the propagation of the truth, which is more powerful than any other thing. The letters

which come to Radio-Tirana from more than 100 countries prove this. In these letters, the listeners of Radio-Tirana write their heartfelt words, express their gratitude for the voice of Albania, which is the voice of truth. This is a great encouragement to us to step up our struggle against the ideological aggression even more. Here are some excerpts from these letters:

A person from the Federal German Republic writes: «The value of your broadcasts is incalculable for all the German Marxist-Leninists. The Party of Labour of Albania discharges its internationalist duties through Radio-Tirana, too. For this we thank you very much». A Dutchman writes: «Last night, I heard your program in English, and I want to tell you that, as always, I found it very interesting. The programs of Radio-Tirana which make known the correct line and courageous struggle of the PLA for the construction and defence of socialism in Albania, for the triumph of Marxism-Leninism, against imperialism and socal-imperialism, against modern revisionism and reaction, are the only Marxist-Leninist programs broadcast in Europe. For the Marxist-Leninists of this continent this is a very important contribution. A Colombian writes: «I want to congratulate you on the programs which spread the voice of truth of socialist Albania, of Marxism-Leninism... I wish you even greater victories on the brilliant road of socialism», etc., etc.

International conferences are also tribunes from which the voice of Albania resounds powerfully for the political and ideological exposure of impe-

rialism and revisionism. In the sessions of the UNO and other conferences and meetings, the voice of the representatives of socialist Albania is listened to with great attention, for it truly defends the struggle of the peoples for freedom and independence, social progress and socialism. And if there are many people who cannot have their say about Albania, at these conferences and meetings, they do not fail to express their ardent sentiments in their letters.

Look at what ardent words some of them write: «Bravo, Albania, which was not intimidated even by the size of the Soviet Union, but exposed it boldly over its occupation of Czechoslovakia». «You are like a powerful bird in the sea of treachery and filth». «You are an heroic country. I am with you. I love the heroic Albanian people. I am here, but in mind I am with you. I think of your great figures, from Scanderbeg to Enver Hoxha and Mehmet Shehu today». «I feel proud, very proud of you, dear Albanian friends, of your bravery. I wholeheartedly greet the new Albania with the great Marxist-Leninist, Comrade Enver Hoxha, at the head». «You beloved land of Albania, may you live for ever, for the good of the peoples who are fighting for progress in all fields! Forward on your victorious road!». «Your Party is a giant like Mount Tomor. What a wonderful resemblance between gigantic Mount Tomor and the giant called the PLA». «My heart brings forth only these words: Long live Albania! Long live your Party! Long live Enver», and so on.

Whereas the encirclement is expressed in the political field through political pressure, in the economic field, it is expressed in the economic blockade. The beginning of this blockade go back to the period straight after Liberation but was tightened even more by the Khrushchevite revisionists, who did not provide our country with the things they had promised. They violated the agreements, sabotaged our plan and left the industrial projects halffinished. Our difficulties were great. In 1961, Comrade Enver Hoxha said: «Total blockade. Even the imperialists have not gone so far as to impose such a perfect blockade on a socialist country, which is their sworn enemy»[1].

Apart from anything else the Khrushchevite revisionists imposed their economic blockade on Albania because they were and are greatly afraid of the PLA, and its correct line which adds to the heat and their difficulties within their own party and among their peoples, whom they try to keep in the dark and deceive and mislead with slanders. But in vain. The fresh breeze is blowing in through their doors and windows.

Their followers in the former socialist countries of Europe, also, adopted the anti-Marxist and anti-internationalist stand of the Soviet leadership.

How many difficulties the modern revisionists have caused Albania with their economic blockade! With the aim of forcing us to become their tools they did not supply us even with grain. «At one

1 Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 22, p. 11 (Alb. ed.).

time, Khrushchev's right-hand man, Anastas Mikoyan — that revisionist double-dealer — using the question of grain as a means of pressure against us in order to subjugate us, told us that without the Soviet Union, Albania would be left without bread, and would not exist even for 15 days![1] But the economic blockade has never made the Albanian Party and people waver. The words of Comrade Enver Hoxha are well known: «Even if we have to go without bread, we Albanians will never violate our principles, will never betray Marxism-Leninism. Everybody, friend or enemy, should get this clear!»[2] We have always replied to the economic blockade of the enemies with this revolutionary spirit and mobilization for the fulfilment of tasks by each of us.

In this period of serious crises which have the capitalist and revisionist world in its grip, the strength and stability of socialist Albania, our political and economic stability, are clear evidence of the superiority of socialism, and the correct line of the PLA. There is no blockade that can subdue the Albanian Party and people. Albania is living without trading with the Soviet revisionists and despite their blockade, and can continue to do so. In the conditions of the imperialist and revisionist encirclement and blockade and the world crisis, it

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1 Mehmet Shehu, Report on the 6th Five-year Plan, p. 13, Tirana 1976 (Alb. ed.).

2 Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 19, p. 338 (Alb. ed.).

becomes even more important for our country to be independent of foreign markets.

There is only one way to break the encirclement and blockade: incessant attack, going from action to action, from success to success.

The 7th Congress of the PLA clearly defined the objectives towards which we must direct our attacks to break the encirclement. On the economic front, the encirclement is broken:

First, by becoming self-sufficient in bread grain. The Congress announced the great news that this objective had been achieved in Albania for the first time. This is a major victory. When we recall the time of Migjeni's «The Legend of Maize», that time when the ordinary people in Albania did not have even a handful of maize; when we recall the rationed bread after Liberation, and the fight against locusts, we cannot help but shudder; when we recall Khrushchev's pressure over grain, despite his false promise and cynical assurances that the mice in the Soviet Union ate enough grain to satisfy all Albania's needs, at a time when we had only enough to last us two weeks, our hatred for the enemies increases; when we see that today we are self-sufficient in bread grain, our hearts swell with joy and we feel justifiably proud.

Our self-sufficiency in bread grain is fruit of the correct line of the Party, of the political understanding and patriotic mobilization of the cooperative peasantry, of the implementation of the slogan, «agriculture — the concern of the whole people». Now the problem is to make this victory permanent. And

this is possible. Such a victory can be achieved only in a country like Albania, where a true Marxist-Leninist Party is leading, where «what the Party says the people do and what the people want, the Party does». In another country, for example, in the revisionist Soviet Union, the new bourgeoisie thinks only of how to enrich itself and that is how it acts, even though the people may be short of food. During the first six months of the year 1976 alone, the Soviet Union imported maize, wheat, soya beans and rice worth 988,5 million dollars from the United States of America.

The victory of achieving self-sufficiency in bread grain must be maintained and strengthened. The possibilities and experience are not lacking. The further deepening of the political understanding of the great task of ensuring the grain we need from home production, the application of the agro-technical code, the strengthening of the scientific management of the economy, the dissemination of advanced experience in obtaining high yilds, the creation of the conviction that production must have permanent stability, irrespective of the weather conditions, the involvement of everybody in the problems of agriculture — are some of the main problems, the solution of which leads to consistent success in ensuring our grain requirements from home production.

Self-sufficiency in bread grain is of great economic, political and strategic importance for socialist Albania. From the economic angle, self-sufficiency imparts a powerful impulse to the entire economy,

frees large amounts of foreign currency which can be used for other purposes; from the political angle, it further strengthens our socialist state which it makes completely independent of grain imports; from the strategic viewpoint, it is a guarantee of our ability to cope with any situation in good times and bad.

Second, by producing spare parts at home. We began to tackle this task long ago, especially after the imperialist-revisionist economic blockade on Albania. And the results are very encouraging. The ingenious minds, skilful hands, and the revolutionary spirit of tackling problems of the workers have enabled the working class to produce at home many articles which were formerly imported.

Experience up to date shows that the possibilities for the production of spare parts locally are even greater and there are many reserves. Proceeding from this, the 7th Congress of the PLA set the important tasks that during the 6th Five-year Plan more than 90 per cent of the needs of the people for mass consumer goods must be met with local products while our industry must meet 95 per cent of the country's needs for spare parts.

Third, by fulfilling the targets in oil extraction. This great wealth is of vital importance to us. Oil conditions the rapid development of all branches of the economy. Therefore, the 7th Congress of the PLA laid down important tasks in this field. For example, in 1980, as against 1975, the output of crude oil is to increase by 11 per cent and that of natural gas by 48 per cent. Attention will

be concentrated both on prospecting for new resources to increase the industrial reserves of oil and gas, in order to fulfil the targets of this five-year plan and to open up new prospects for the future.

Fourth, by carrying out the state plan. Everybody who works in Albania has his own plan, the fulfilment of which requires discipline. Discipline is the primary condition for breaking the encirclement; the state of encirclement demands constant discipline, not disruption. This discipline is concrete for everybody, wherever he works; it includes respect for starting and knocking off times and everybody carrying out his task well, the proper utilization of working time and the fulfilment of the plan in all indices, such as productivity, quality, cost, improvement of services, the raising of work norms without harming quality, reducing the consumption of raw materials and others used in production, extending the life of the machinery and other such tasks.

It is typical of the work of the people in socialist Albania that they fulfil and overfulfil the plan. Among those engaged in production, there are some who advance ahead of time, who are working on account of future years. But there are also some who do not fulfil their tasks as they should. This is a result of the fact that these people «. . .do not fully understand and live up to the requirements of the state of encirclement, because they are influenced by the pressure of bourgeois revisionist ideology, or yield to the remnants of the past in their consciousness, which have, as their main

motive, the hankering after self-interest to the detriment of the public interest»[1].

The situation of encirclement requires that everybody, is in order with his own tasks, wherever he works, studies, serves and lives. Thus, the pupil and the student must successfully pass each class by thoroughly studying the lessons, the teacher must carry out the teaching program with high quality, the scientist must carry out his studies at the required level, etc. In short, «the people must fight for the fulfilment of the state plan just as a military detachment fights in wartime to break the encirclement»[2].

Fifth, by strengthening the savings regime always and everywhere. Experience hitherto shows that all the people in Albania, in every sector where they work, study or serve, have great possibilities and reserves for making savings. This depends on their political understanding of the problem, on to what extent the savings regime is seen closely linked with the encirclement and is put on the agenda, to what extent it is taken into account and whether people economize at work and at home, to what extend frugality has become their second nature.

In the conditions of encirclement, a strict regime of frugality is required from everybody, every-

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1 Mehmet Shehu, Report on the 6th Five-year Plan, Tirana, 1976, p. 80 (Alb. ed.).

2 Ibidem, p. 82.

where and all the time: in order to save even a single grain of wheat, maize, a gram of steel, oil, coal, and any other valuable thing, a unit of electric power and the last cent. The fractions saved by all, wherever they work, amount to large totals and are available to serve the people's economy and culture in our country.

The fundamental principle by which everybody must be guided in his work is self-reliance. In the present-day situation of encirclement, this principle assumes even greater political and ideological significance, and its practical implementation in all fields is vitally necessary.

The imperialist and revisionist encirclement of the PSRA is savage, but the revolutionary struggle and work of the Albanian people under the leadership of the Party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head have enabled Albania to advance uninterruptedly in its march ahead on the brilliant road of socialism. With everybody working and fighting like revolutionaries, this encirclement will always be broken. Our breaking the encirclement spells defeat for imperialism and revisionism, and victory for us.

The imperialist and revisionist encirclement of Albania operates in the military field, too. This encirclement manifests itself in this field in the form of military threats.

The military threats and pressures on the part of the imperialists and the revisionists began long ago. We need only mention the Khushchevite pressures over the Vlora base, about which Comrade Enver Hoxha said at that time: «The time has

gone when Ibrahim Pasha of Berat, whom Ali Pasha Tepelena had driven into a corner, proposed to save his head by selling Vlora to a general of Napoleon Bonapart for «40 pieces of silver». The time has gone when the beys and Zog sold Vlora and Sazan, Vermosh and Shën Naum... And the Party said to Khrushchev: «Vlora has been, is, and will always be Albanian and under the guidance of our Party and its military base belongs to socialist Albania»[1]. The new Constitution of the PSRA lays down that Albania's territory is inalienable and its borders are inviolable, that the stationing of foreign military bases and forces, in any form, within the territory of socialist Albania, is prohibited.

There have always been military pressures and threats against Albania and they continue to this day. The feverish preparations for war, the arms race, the sabre-rattling, the nuclear tests, the military manoeuvres and the movement of naval fleet not far from the shores of the PSRA are intended to intimidate our people. To these threats we reply with the words of Comrade Enver Hoxha from the rostrum of the 7th Congress of the PLA: «As to 'Albania's being only one mouthful', — watch out, gentlemen, for socialist Albania is a hard bone that'll stick in your throat and choke you!»[2].

The imperialist and revisionist military pressures and threats do not intimidate us, but neither do we underestimate them. On the contrary, we

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1 Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 22, pp. 276-277 (Alb. ed.).

2 Enver Hoxha, Report submitted to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 190 (Alb. ed.).

train to defend our Homeland from any possible attack. The defence of the Homeland is the duty above all duties.

When we say that the defence of the Homeland is the duty above all duties it is of great importance to understand the essence of the question correctly. It is not just a matter that, among the many problems of the construction of socialism, among the series of tasks which present themselves from time to time, one of them, the one which must be a permanent task, the most important of all, which always remains the first and main item on the agenda is the defence of the Homeland. While this is true, the fundamental aspect is that which Comrade Enver Hoxha stresses: «... at these political moments which the world and our country are going through, everything that is done, every decision, every work and action, must be linked with the lofty interests of the defence of our socialist Homeland from the enemies, that is, the question of defence must predominate in the minds, hearts and consciousness of every person and all the physical, mental and spiritual energies of our people must serve this great idea».[1]

The definition that «the defence of the Homeland is the duty above all duties», has scientific significance and a profound political-ideological content. Why is the defence of the Homeland the duty above all duties?

The ideological aggression is not an end in itself.

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1 Enver Hoxha, «Reports and Speeches, 1965-1966» p. 195. (Alb. ed.).

It is the precursor to and preparation for military aggression. In these conditions, the defence of the Homeland cannot be other than the duty above all duties.

The defence of the Homeland is the duty above all duties because the Homeland is above all. Freedom is very dear to us. In the name of freedom the Albanian people have fought for centuries. Thoughts and sayings about freedom and the Homeland have been handed down to us, such as: «He who is manly and brave fights for the Motherland and becomes immortal» «Freedom is not donated, but is won through blood». The motto of our people has always been: «The Homeland is above all». The watchword has been: «Liberty or Death!», «Better to die fighting rather than live in submission». This philosophy of the Albanian people is no accident, but emanates from their life, and has been tested in the course of their existence.

The definition that the «defence of the Homeland is the duty above all duties also stems from the fact that the Homeland belongs to the entire people, therefore the entire soldier people defend it. In Albania, not only those who wear the khahi uniform, but all are soldiers. This is a fundamental feature of the defence of the socialist Homeland. Since the time of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, the Party has relied on the people. In those stormy years, Comrade Enver Hoxha addressed the following words to the people: «You, the gallant Albanian people, are invincible and fearless. The terrible waves of slavery have swept over you, the chains of foreign bondage have bound you, but,

like a valiant giant you have smashed them to smithereens, have raised your heads proudly, bloody but free, free as the breeze from our mountains. At the critical moments of your existence, at the moments when danger assailed the Homeland, you, the Albanian people, closed your ranks, stood shoulder to shoulder, made your hearts and your chests steel, and became the shield of the Homeland»[1]. Today, in the conditions when the people themselves are in power, they are armed and organized militarily, on their feet as a soldier people and, under the leadership of the Party, are ready to defend the Homeland, their freedom and the victories of the revolution.

The defence of the Homeland is the duty above all duties because the «Homeland is defended every day, constantly, in every step, with every word, with whatever daily work we do». A good patriot is he who fights not only when the enemies attack the Homeland, but he who always fights in the position in which he has been placed, in the work with which he has been charged by the Party and the people. The better we work, the stronger we become, and the more impregnable is the Homeland.

Our preparation for defence, the struggle against the imperialist-revisionist encirclement, must not be conceived simply from the military aspect, while underestimating or putting in second place the political struggle, the ideological tempering, the economic strengthening of the Homeland. Prepara-

1 Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 2, p. 99 (Alb. ed.).

tion for defence is and must be the sum total of the political, ideological, economic, military, cultural educational and other measures. All of these together can make our fortress really impregnable.

To prepare for the defence of the Homeland means that the entire people must be prepared politically, ideologically, militarily and economically. What does this mean?

To be prepared politically means to be imbued continuously with the policy of the Party, to view every problem and task from the political angle, so that the mind and heart of each of us is always pervaded by the sense of responsibility towards the greatest patriotic duty — the defence of the Homeland, so that the revolutionary spirit of determination and sacrifice for the cause of the Party and the people, the revolution and socialism, is developed in each of us, so that each of us is vigilant towards the class enemies, in order to defend the victories of the workers and peasants. Lenin teaches: «Be vigilant, guard the defence potencial of the country like the apple of your eye... and do not forget we do not have the right to allow, even for one second, any laxity to the detriment of the workers and the peasants»[1].

To prepare ideologically means to always temper yourself with the revolutionary ideology of the Party, with Marxism-Leninism, to wage the class struggle in all fields, to uproot the old concepts and

1 V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 33, p. 155 (Alb. ed.).

inculcate new revolutionary concepts in place of them, to educate yourself with the communist ideals, with lofty moral virtues, with a socialist stand towards work, and the socialist property. The teaching of Comrade Enver Hoxha: «The Homeland is defended with weapons, but it is also defended with knowledge and culture and to acquire them, Marxism-Leninism must be mastered, in the first place,»[1] retains all its validity.

To be prepared economically means to make the most of your mental and physical abilities to increase agricultural and industrial production, to fulfil the daily, monthly and annual plan in quantity and quality, to contribute with all your might to the continuous strengthening of the economy. Economic strength is one of the decisive factors for victory in war, because to fight and defeat the enemies on the battlefield requires bread, foodstuffs, clothing, fuel, means of transport, etc., etc., besides weapons and military equipment. The greater the reserves of these things the better.

To be prepared militarily means that the entire people must be trained militarily, be trained in the use of weapons while being organized in the structures of the armed forces, must be toughened physically, must learn the forms of people's war, must operate in the military exercises as in real war, and so on. The new Constitution of the PSRA

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1 Enver Hoxha, «On the Marxist-Leninist Education of the Cadres, Communists and the Masses», p. 203. Tirana, 1974.

sanctions the great Marxist-Leninist principle that the defence of the Homeland and the gains of socialism are guaranteed by the armed people, organized in the armed forces. Only in this way, will every hedge, every rock, every house, and every inch of land, be an insurmountable obstacle to the enemies and become their grave.

The preparation for the defence of the Homeland in Albania is done on the basis of these teachings of the PLA. What must be well understood is that a country is invicible when it is strong politically, ideologically, economically and militarily. This is incompatible with any concept which underrates or overestimates one or the other of the above mentioned aspects of defence. We repel the dangers of ideological and military aggression by all of us being distinguished workers, perpetual learners and model soldiers, hence with the pick in the one hand and the rifle in the other, as well as with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha in our minds and hearts.

Hence when we speak about the encirclement of Albania, we must take into account these two aspects:

First, this encirclement must be understood not only in the military aspect, but also in the other aspects: political, ideological and economic.

Second, the encirclement of our country from the military point of view must not be conceived as a danger of tomorrow, of the future, but as an immediate danger, not as a potential danger, but as a real one which has long been hanging over us,

against which a continuous daily fight must be waged.

In this way alone, the enemies will never find us asleep, never catch us unawares, for we are and will always be in full combat readiness. Stalin said: «To be caught unawares means to fall victim to 'the unexpected', to panic in face of the enemy. But panic leads to rout, to defeat, to disaster»[1]. We have not fallen victim to defeat or panic and we shall never do. «But if Scanderbeg could resist for 25 years on end and always defeated the Osman Turks, what about us who have the Party, a united people, socialism, weapons, numerous friends all over the world. In these conditions, as Comrade Enver Hoxha put it, over 16 years ago, 'Cursed be our mothers' milk, cursed be the bread the Party and people feed us with, if we do not defend the interests of our people,».[2] Under the leadership of the Party Albania has become a granite rock.

* * *

The ideological aggression is doomed to defeat. Proletarian ideology is more and more conquering the consciousness of people anywhere in the world. It always triumphs for it is scientific and represents

1 J. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 11, p. 68 (Alb. ed.).

2 Mehmet Shehu, Report on the 6th Five-year Plan p. 113 (Alb. ed.).

the truth, the revolutionary new. This revolutionary new is invincible. The future belongs to the peoples, the proletariat. And the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist ideology represents precisely the interests of the proletariat. This ideology has become dominant in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

The Albanian Party and people have resolutely waged the class struggle on all fronts, against the all-round pressure of the hostile imperialist and revisionist encirclement against its ideological aggression, as well as against the class enemies within the country. Against the steel-like unity of the Party and the people the attacks and plots of the external and internal enemies against our Party and socialist order, against the freedom and independece of the Homeland, have been smashed to smithereens and always will be. Our victories over the imperialist-revisionist enemies and the internal enemies must not make us conceited, lull us to sleep, and make us rest on our laurels. On the contrary, we must evaluate the enemy properly, must not underrate or overate it. To underrate the enemy means to lose vigilance, to get swell-headed, to be caught asleep, by surprise. To overrate it means to become alarmed, to capitulate. Correct understanding and assessment of the dangers posed by the imperialist-revisionist ideological and military aggression enable us to continuously strengthen our preparations for defence to arm ourselves to the maximum with the weapon of Marxism-Leninism as well as with fire arms.

We regard the situation with revolutionary

optimism. It is developing in favour of the forces of the revolution and people's liberation, and to the detriment of imperialism and revisionism. The international position of socialist Albania has never before been as strong as it is today. Our successes within the country are great in every direction. Therefore, as Comrade Enver Hoxha said at the 7th Congress of the PLA: «The aggressors will find themselves quite unable to 'walk over' Albania. Instead, they will find their own death here. The enemies can be sure of one thing, that they will never set foot on our soil, that their weapons and bombs will never be able to subdue the great resistance, the spirit of heroism, and the ardent patriotic feelings of the Albanian people»[1].

The revolution in Albania is forging steadily ahead. The greater the glory of our revolution the more the enemy counter-revolution and its ideological and military aggression are covered in shame. In Albania only one flower — the red flower of Marxism-Leninism, socialism and communism will bloom for ever. The PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha are skilfully guiding us on this road, which is the road of our triumph and our happiness.

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1 Enver Hoxha, Report submitted to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 191 (Alb. ed.).

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